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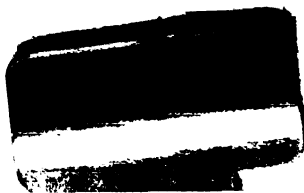
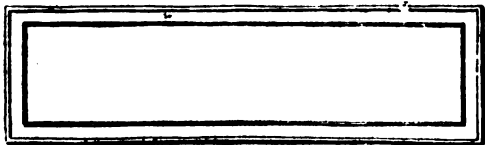
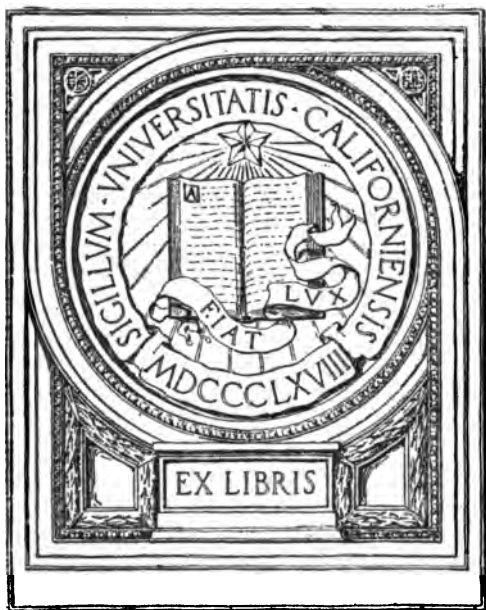
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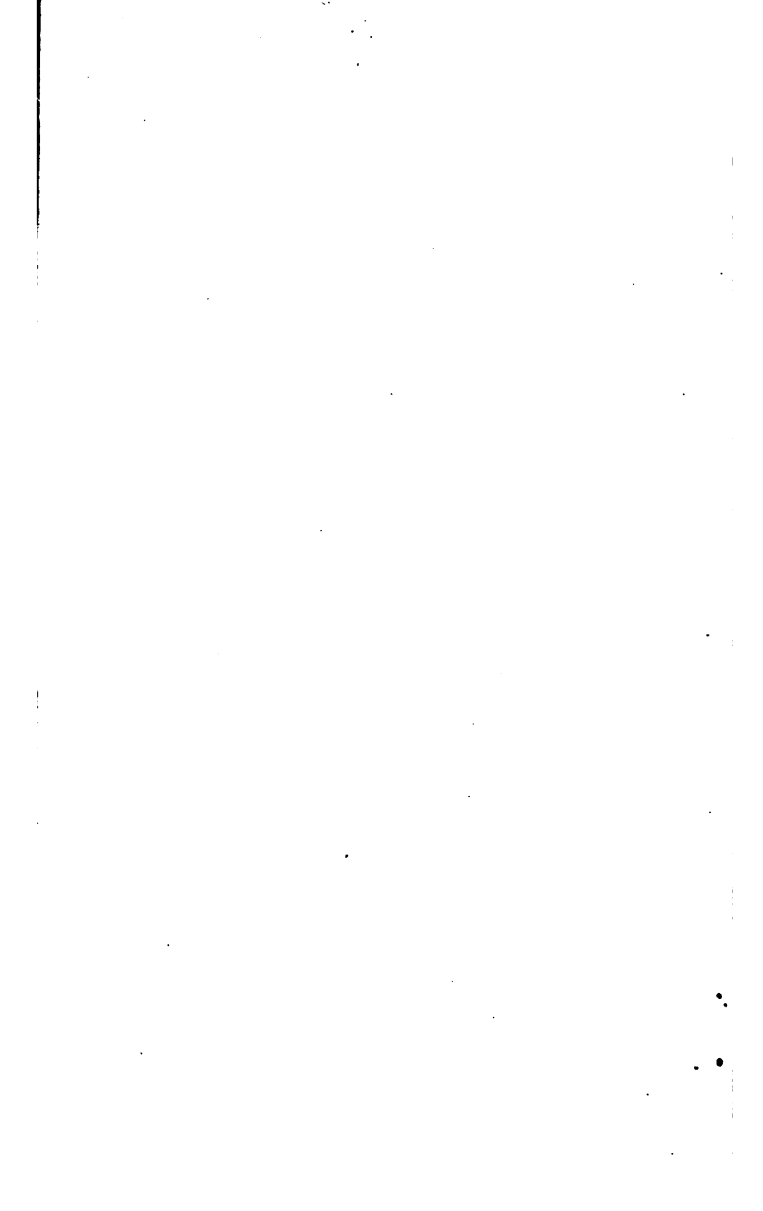
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THE
CONFEDERATION
OF
KILKENNY.

BY
C. P. MEEHAN, C.C.,

Author of

"THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS," "THE IRISH FRANCISCAN
MONASTERIES," ETC., ETC.

NEW EDITION,
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MAY

TO WHOM
ATTACHED

Dedication.

TO THE HON. SIR C. G. DUFFY,

EX-PREMIER OF THE COLONY OF VICTORIA,
N. S. WALES.

DEAR FRIEND,—After an interval of thirty-six years, I avail of your permission to re-dedicate to you this Volume which, at your instance, I undertook to write for The Library of Ireland. You will find I have enlarged the present edition with copious extracts from a variety of sources, and especially from the pages of two works, whose costliness, to say nothing of the limited number of copies printed, places them beyond the reach of the ordinary reader. I allude to the "*Spicilegium Ossoriense*," of the Most Rev. Dr. Moran, and the "*History of Affairs in Ireland*," *alias* "*Aphorismical Discovery of Faction*," recently edited and diffusely and learnedly illustrated by Mr. John T. Gilbert. The latter work has stood me in good stead, and saved me the trouble of making

extracts from the original MS. in Trinity College—my own copy being imperfect—as I was obliged to do when gathering material for the “Franciscans and Irish Hierarchy in 17th Century,” which was published five years before Mr. Gilbert’s work, and has now gone into a fifth edition.

The Appendix to this volume comprises many original papers of great importance, amongst others the “Judgment against Sir Phelim O’Neill.” The original of this interesting document, now for the first time printed *in extenso*, is preserved in Trinity College, and, if I mistake not, ought be called Notes used by Judge Lowther when charging the Cromwellian Jury in the old Tholsel. My reason for introducing it was to acquaint the reader with the long catalogue of fabricated charges for which that unfortunate personage was held accountable, and which were sworn to by the Hambletons, who, by evicting him out of this world, secured for themselves the reversion of his estates. It also occurred to me that this mendacious Indictment—if I may so designate it—might be regarded as a pattern of others now lost, on which hundreds, during the usurpation, were robbed of their estates, and not unfrequently of life itself. Had Sir Phelim been guilty of a tithe of the atrocities accredited to him, he would have deserved the doom of the infamous

Ezzelino,* whom Dante saw plunged in a lake of boiling blood. But that he was *not* is beyond all doubt, the solemn cant and affected horror of the hypocritical judge notwithstanding. Mr. John Prendergast, one of our most distinguished historians, published, a few years ago, a series of papers† which proved that Sir Phelim had not hand, act, or part in the burnings, massacres, and other villanies for which he was arraigned; and here it may not be out of place to observe that General Thomas Preston would not have given his daughter in marriage to Sir Phelim had he been what his enemies described him; and furthermore, it may be worth recording, that when he could have saved his life and estate by a lie, he scorned to purchase either at such a cost of truth and honour.

For the "Judgment," I am most grateful to Mr. Thomas French, Assistant-Librarian in Trinity College, to whose kindness and extensive literary attainments every frequenter of that splendid collection will bear glad testimony. Among the many none is more grateful than I for repeated acts of courtesy, and especially for the pains he took to turn into readable characters the "Judgment," which presented all the difficulties of a palimpsest.

For the portrait of the Nunzio I have to thank

* *Inferno*, C. xii.

† In the *Nation*.

his twelfth successor, his Grace the most illustrious and most reverend Hamilcar Malagola, Archbishop of Fermo, who in his letter* states that the copy sent me was taken from the only portrait—*unica tela*—that has outlived the wear and tear of time. The Rev. Dr. Graves, who has done such valuable service to Irish Archæology, generously gave me the use of the electrotyped block, from which the likeness of Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, is taken, and which faithfully represents the original now in Jenkinstown. I had some notion of giving the portrait of Padre Luca—Wadding—but thought it sufficiently known through the admirable engraving by the Messrs Waller of this city. The Confederate Seal on the cover of the volume is carefully copied from the engraving in Father Harold's biography of his learned uncle, prefixed to the epitome of *The Annals*.† Our dear and mutual friend, D. F. MacCarthy, has placed me under additional obligations by his exquisite translation of the Latin epitaph on Owen Roe; and his gifted son, John, has faithfully rendered the lines on the death of Alaster Mac-Col, son of Colkitto, who was slain at Cnec-na-dos. The brief memoir of the Rothe family has been contributed by Rev. John Shearman, C.C.,

* See Appendix.

† Published, Rome, 1662.

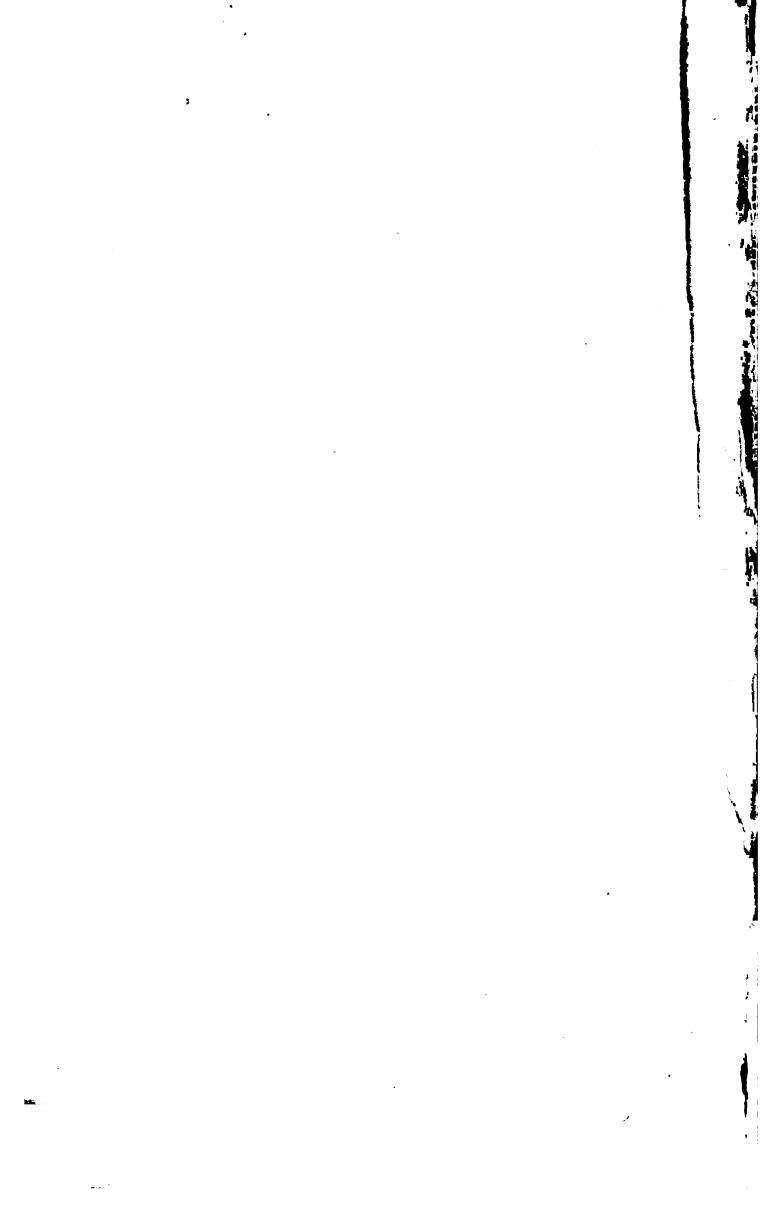
Howth, whose love and cultivation of literature—surpassed only by that of another priest, nameless here—would have delighted the author of “*Philobiblion*,” if it had not been decreed that both should come into this world fully five centuries after that renowned prelate’s migration to heaven.

In conclusion, I may state that this volume does not ambition to be called a History, but rather an attempt to throw additional light on the events of a period abounding in facts and episodes interesting and dramatic, and withal little known. With all its shortcomings, you, dear friend, will accept it as an evidence of my abiding esteem and gratitude for favours which shall never be forgotten.

Wishing you and yours many years of true happiness, let us keep in mind the aspiration of Sir Thomas More, and trust “that we may hereafter meet in heaven merrily together.”

New Year’s Day, 1882.

C. P. M.



CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY.

CHAPTER I.

THE twenty-fourth of October, 1642, is a memorable epoch in the annals of Ireland. On that day, the representatives of the Irish Catholics, deputed by the cities, counties, and towns, were assembling in the city of Kilkenny, to deliberate on their actual position, and to organise a confederacy, the foundations of which had already been laid.

It was a grand and solemn spectacle—nor does the history of any country record a more spirit-stirring scene than that which was witnessed in the old city of St. Canice, at that momentous period. The rapid transition from heart-breaking thralldom to bold and armed independence, was never more convincingly manifested. Ireland, hitherto chained, and tortured by the most inhuman enactments, beheld her sons, clergy and laity, repudiating the despotism of Parsons and Borlase* who, in the absence of Lord Leicester held the reins of government as Lords Justices, and resorting to the only means left them for the removal of their grievances—home-legislation and an appeal to arms.

* Sir William Parsons, Master of the Court of Wards and Lord Justice, December, 1640. Sir John Borlase, Master of the Ordnance, was appointed Lord Justice in the same year. Sidney, Earl of Leicester, was appointed Lord Lieutenant in March, 1641, but he never came over.

Who can adequately describe the feelings which, at that moment, must have thrilled the hearts of the Irish Catholics? But thirty-nine years before, Lord Deputy Mountjoy, from the Castle of Dublin, addressed an insolent letter to the mayor of Kilkenny, reprimanding him for allowing the ancient church of the Franciscans to be re-opened for the celebration of Mass. His order to close its gates was promptly obeyed, and the frightened worshippers had to betake themselves to some obscure spot in the less frequented region of the city, to observe the rites of their religion. The sanguinary edicts of the times caused men to pray as though the moments of their existence were to be measured by the length of time it took to consummate the holy sacrifice. In the unscrupulous calculations of such men as Mountjoy, Parsons, and Borlase, it was deemed no sin to slay and plunder those whom their gloomy fanaticism would exclude from all participation in the happiness of the world to come. But what an extraordinary contrast now presented itself. In less than one year how much had been done to exalt the condition of the Catholic people of Ireland. Men, who hitherto chafed under the yoke, now bravely flung it off, and Mountjoy's malevolence, and the intolerable despotism of the Lords Justices were treated with scorn and contempt. Those who commenced the struggle in the preceding October, knew well that they had been driven from their sanctuaries and homesteads, by fraud and rapine, and had now determined to assert their rightful claims, even at the sword's point. The struggle for independence was to be resumed in a more formidable and combined fashion; and, even now, they with whom it originated might behold some grand results from a warfare which at its commencement

had all the appearances of a sudden onfall without any characteristic of disciplined organisation. On such an occasion, what heart could have been indifferent to the exciting circumstances of the time and place? From the towers of St. Canice and the church of the Dominicans the gladsome pealing of bells proclaimed a new era. David Roth ascended the episcopal throne in the cathedral. The altars, which had been sacrilegiously levelled, were re-erected, and the shrine of Saint Canice was exposed to the veneration of the faithful. A monument was set up to record this marvellous transformation, and the splendid temple, after having been duly *reconciled*, was once more devoted to the usages of the religion for which it was founded by Catholic piety and Catholic genius, some six centuries before.* Nay, more, some of the monasteries which had been desecrated for profane purposes were again occupied by the religious corporations, and the friar walked abroad in the habit of his order. Never in the history of any country, was there wrought so wondrous a change in so short a time, and against such overpowering odds.

Nor are we to suppose that the joy created by such extraordinary events was confined to those who witnessed them at home. Some of the most chivalrous men who were serving in continental armies were born in Ireland. Religious persecution had driven them from their homes and they eagerly watched the moment when they might return, and be useful to their own land. That moment had come, nor were they slow in sympathising with their

* "Memoriae David Roth
Qui hanc eccl. cathed.
S. Canicio sacram
Pristino restituit cultui."

kinsmen and friends. Owen Roe O'Neill, who had distinguished himself in the Spanish armies, relinquished his command, and was warmly commended by the Pope for that zeal and love of fatherland, which stimulated him to imperil all he held dear for the emancipation of his religion and country. Preston, too, of the house of Gormanstown, who had won his laurels in 1636, under the walls of Louvain, apparently actuated by the same sentiments, and at the expense of Cardinal Richelieu, sailed with a considerable number of officers for the coast of Wexford, where he landed arms and ammunition. From the banks of the Nore to the Tagus, and thence to the Vatican, beyond the Tiber, the news of the Irish rising had travelled with rapidity. Philip IV., of Spain, extolled the boldness of his co-religionists, chivalrous France applauded the bravery of the men who stood up to smite oppression, and Urban VIII., at the tomb of the Apostles, invoked blessings on the arms of his faithful Irish children.

But if anything could add to the delight of those who beheld these occurrences from a distance, or intensify the enthusiasm which then pervaded Ireland from its centre to the sea, it was an event which had recently taken place. This was the coalition of the Catholic nobility and gentry of the Pale with the Celtic or "old Irish." Let us pause to examine the characteristics of both, and investigate the motives which persuaded them to struggle in the same cause, and march under the same standard.

"From time immemorial," says an accurate observer, "there always existed among the Irish two adverse parties, 'the ancient and the modern;' the former was ever opposed to the dominion of Eng-

land, and, generally speaking, refused the investiture of church property; the latter, on the contrary, aggrandised by the spoils of the religious houses and cathedrals, and bound to the King of England by obligation no less than interest, neither sought nor desired anything but the exaltation of the Crown."

In fact, the Catholics of the Pale were thoroughly English in all their sympathies, if we except those which regarded religion and presented the most marked contrast to the ancient Celtic tribes, who had been plundered, even with the co-operation of the fathers of their new allies. Nor did the two races differ as to habits and predilections only; for in 1641 the physique, or outward appearance of the old Irish is described by one who had ample opportunity of seeing and knowing them, as in every respect superior to that of the Anglo-Irish. The latter, he tells us, were weak and of low stature, while the former were tall and of huge frame.*

We may well wonder, that men of such different views and prepossessions could be brought together within the walls of Kilkenny; and surely it must have been some irresistible motive which could induce the two races to bury in oblivion the antagonism and mortal enmity of 500 years. No matter how ardently the mendacious publications of the times sought to identify the Anglo-Irish with the men who originated the rising of 1641, they did not succeed in convincing any unbiassed mind. One who was a conspicuous actor in those varied scenes, so often bright with hope, and darkened by reverses, has triumphantly proved that the Irish rising, so far from being countenanced by the nobility and gentry of the Pale, had not a single individual of

* Rinuccini.

English extraction concerned or implicated in it.* On the contrary, when the old Irish took up arms to resist the Puritans, who were bent on extinguishing the Catholic faith, and plucking up the Irish nation, root and branch, the lords and gentry of the Pale earnestly besought the Justices to give them arms, that they might march against them, and, if possible, crush them.† Sir Robert Talbot, a Catholic, was ready, in his hot zeal, to proceed to the county Wicklow, and outroot the septes of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, who had been plundered by Sir William Parsons, and driven to madness by the ferocious Coote. Lord Gormanstown, and others of his order, such as Dunsany and Netterville, burned for an opportunity in which they might prove their loyalty, by persecuting the men who had arisen to beat down the most intolerable despotism. They sought arms, but were denied them, were treated with the contempt they merited, nor did they repent their bloody purpose, till they found themselves involved in the damnable edicts which the Lords Justices published against "*all Papists without distinction of any.*" Withal they still hoped that these denunciations might be mitigated in their behalf, but the hope deluded them. Their religion was a plausible pretext for robbing them; their estates were worth having, and had long tempted the cupidity of Parsons and Borlase, whose sordid griping stands without parallel. Perfectly unscrupulous as to the means of acquiring wealth, they hesitated not to smite, with axe and oath, all who stood between them and their object; nor can we find the counterpart of such wholesale plunderers, save amongst those who at a

* Castlehaven's Mem. † Carte's Orm.

subsequent period, depopulated the fertile regions of Ireland by transplanting the natives to Connaught, or beyond the seas.

But a new light began to break on the lords and gentry of the Pale, and they were soon made aware of the danger which menaced them. A letter from the Earl of Essex to the Lords Justices, suggesting the expediency of banishing the lords and gentry of the Pale to the West Indies, was sufficient to alarm and teach them to provide for their safety. They had no alternative; to stay any longer separated from the national movement imperilled their lives and fortunes. The rackings and torturings of their own kinsmen, and the atrocities which they had to endure in the Castle of Dublin, gave fearful warning that a similar course of treatment was in reserve for themselves. Remonstrances were of no effect, for they were unheeded; loyalty and hoary age were but scurvy pleas at such a moment. Patrick Barnwell* of Kilbrew, and Sir John Read, were living witnesses of the inhumanity of the executive, for without the shadow of a charge against their devotion to the Crown, they had their sinews stretched, and their bones broken in the torture-chamber of Dublin Castle. Their crime was, that they were Papists, and, consequently, fit objects for the vengeance of Parsons and Borlase. No matter how reluctant they might have been, the nobility and gentry of the Pale had no other course open to them, save that of joining with those who, in the hypocritical slang of the times, were denounced as rebels. Naturally enough, they dreaded to encounter the pains and penalties to which their religion consigned them, and they determined to abandon

* Carte's Ormond.

their vacillation, and seek protection in the patriot ranks. Thus were the lords of the Pale at length convinced that their leal feelings to England could not protect them when the rack might be called in to support the suspicions and confirm the jealousies of the Lords Justices, who had an interest in their destruction.* Their tenants on their own estates had been wantonly pillaged, and their persons wounded. Coote's thirst for blood was insatiable, and convinced the Irish that he was perfectly in earnest when he declared that he would not leave a Catholic in Ireland. Was the man who could smile and grow facetious when he saw an infant writhing on the pike of one of his soldiers in Wicklow (1641) incapable of any deed that diabolical ingenuity could suggest?

Finglas, Clontarf, and Santry were the scenes of the most wanton murders, perpetrated by this man on people whose proximity to the capital might have been sufficient guarantee for their loyalty, or, at least, for their inability to do the state any mischief. When the humbler classes of the Catholics were thus persecuted, what could the lords of the Pale expect from tame acquiescence, or what solace could they borrow from delusive hope? But, above all, what good could accrue to them from perpetuating the antagonism which had too long kept alive the hatred of the "modern" for the "old Irish?" It was madness to continue it, and the meeting on the hill of Crofty, in the county Meath, was the result of their reflections. There, as on an altar, Roger O'Moore and Lord Gormanstown, the representatives of the two castes, plighted a solemn vow, and swore to bury in oblivion the feuds and

* Carte's Orm., p. 259.

dissensions which had long wasted their strength and now left them a prey to the designs and hatred of the common enemy.

Lord Gormanstown and the other lords of the Pale proceeded, soon after, to take such measures as the exigencies of the times necessarily demanded. Some levies of men, badly equipped, and hastily disciplined, were made in the various baronies. Commanders were appointed, and orders issued to raise such means as were necessary for their support. The meeting on Knockcroft, and its immediate results, had two very natural consequences. All hope of reconciliation with the Lords Justices was henceforth abandoned, and the "old Irish," who had commenced the struggle in the north and south, determined to persevere with redoubled energy, now that they were joined by the nobility of the Pale. Willing or unwilling, the latter were driven into a position from which they could not recede. No matter what their sympathy might have been for English domination, their religion was the grand plea for their destruction: that they held in common with the "old Irish" and in defence of the ancient creed they were solemnly pledged to stand or fall. The objects of the two parties now united were grand, and well worth a combined effort. The Puritans of England meditated the ruin of the monarchy, and were assisted in Ireland by the machinations of the Lords Justices. Next to the ruin of royalty, they ambitioned nothing so much as the extirpation of the Catholics. The preservation of the regal power was an object dear to the ancient and modern Irish, but in every thing pertaining to religion, the Celt knew no compromise, while his ally on the other hand would be satisfied with mere toleration. Manifestoes, calling on the leaders

to arm in the common cause, were forwarded to the principal towns; a great portion of Ulster had already been won back by Sir Phelim O'Neill; Lord Mountgarret had seized Kilkenny; Waterford had opened its gates to his son, Colonel Edmund Butler; Ross and Wexford declared for the national cause; the O'Briens were almost masters of Clare; and, in the fastnesses of jar-Connaught, there was a steady organisation in progress, which alarmed the Earl of Clanricarde, who, wishing to stand well with the Lords Justices, kept aloof from the general movement.

But it was not till the 22d March, 1642, that the Catholic prelates took any part in these momentous proceedings. Of course their influence had been employed to exhort and encourage their flocks in fighting the battle of the faith; but, previous to that period, it was quite impossible that they could have been synodically convened. Their presence was required in many a hard fought field, to console and comfort those who had fallen in the struggle; nor had they time or opportunity to assemble and deliberate in councils.

The provincial synod at Kells convened in March, 1642 by Hugh O'Reilly, archbishop of Armagh, was attended by all the bishops of the province, with the exception of Thomas Dease, bishop of Meath, who, like Lord Clanricarde, sought to extinguish the spirit of patriotism, in the hearts of his people. Dease, who was influenced by the Earl of Westmeath, had already done serious evil to the Catholic forces, commanded by Sir Phelim O'Neill, (when besieging Drogheda,) by preventing supplies from reaching them, consequently his presence would have been anything but agreeable to the patriotic primate and the other prelates. Their

meeting was brief, but of great moment ; after mature deliberation, they pronounced the war undertaken by the Catholics to be lawful and pious, and they issued a spirited address to their flocks, exhorting them to take up arms for their religion, country, and king. A series of decrees against murderers and usurpers of other men's estates, was published by this synod, and the pains and penalties which the bishops pronounced against all evil doers, fully cleared them from the foul aspersions of the Justices who, in their puritanical cant, declared that "they had walked invisibly in works of darkness." Before the bishops retired to their respective sees, they sent a manifesto to their colleagues who had not been present, advertising them that a national synod would be held at Kilkenny, on the 10th of May following. The meeting of the prelates had scarcely terminated, when two events occurred which were calculated to depress the hearts of men with less holy and inspiring objects than those which animated the Irish Catholics.

The civil war had not, as yet, broken out in England, but the fire of revolution was still smouldering, and only required the breath of popular excitement to fan it into flame. The hatred which the factions on the other side of the channel entertained for the Irish Papists was fed and invigorated by printed catalogues of forged murders and shocking atrocities attested on oath by corrupt witnesses who gave out that the presbyterians and protestants of Ulster were being daily massacred in cold blood by Catholics ; and, if anything could add to that mortal enmity, it was the event known as the "defection of the Pale." It was at this crisis that Charles the First bethought him that he had a favourable opportunity for diverting the attention of the Eng-

lish factions to the state of Ireland ; and he thereon forwarded a message to the House of Commons stating that he meant to cross the channel to chastise the detestable rebels, and settle the peace of the kingdom ; protesting, at the same time, " that he would never consent to the toleration of the Popish profession, or the abolition of the laws then in force against Popish recusants." The parliament, however, demurred, and the Justices in Ireland made such a representation of the state of the kingdom, as was calculated to make his Majesty abandon his intention of visiting the Irish shores. A proposition, however, was submitted to him, of which he approved ; 2,500,000 acres were declared forfeited to the Crown, by the men engaged in rebellion ; and in order to raise money for prosecuting war against the Irish on their own soil, and against the king in England, the public credit was pledged that for every sum advanced the contributors should receive a proportionate return of forfeited property.* This however, was one of the many acts of English despotism which might have been turned to a good account, for by it, the Irish people were reduced to the alternative of either crushing their tyrants, or perishing in the ruins of their proscribed religion, and forfeited homesteads.

Cooped up within the walls of Dublin, the Lords Justices vainly represented to the English people the wretched state of their troops, and the formidable array of the rebels. Petition after petition was sent to England, and many a supplication for supplies of old clothing and arms, cantingly headed " an affair of bowels,"† was passed over unheeded. But in keeping the king from the Irish shores, they

* Lingard, vol. x. † Thorpe's Collect., R. D. S.

had accomplished their purpose, for they dreaded nothing so much as an exposure of their cruel and perfidious conduct.

The second of the events alluded to, was the arrival of the Scotch General, Munroe, who, with 2,500 men landed at Carrickfergus on the 15th of April, where he was soon afterwards joined by Lord Conway, and Sir Arthur Chichester, who brought with them a large supply of arms and ammunition. But neither the king's insolent declaration, nor the arrival of the Scotch troops in Ulster, had power to turn the Irish from their purpose.

In the south and west the people were everywhere crowding round the popular leaders. Clanricarde's dictation could not restrain the enthusiasm of Connaught. He had no hold on the affections of his people, and as they knew that he was in correspondence with the Lords Justices, they had no confidence in him. They therefore thought it advisable to stand prepared against such horrors as Sir William St. Leger, the president of Munster, was inflicting on the Catholics in his province. That man, whose barbarities equalled those of Sir Charles Coote, was supplied by the Lords Justices with money and provisions, and empowered to execute martial law on those who fell into his hands. Early in March he entered "Condon's Country," and having massacred the inhabitants, continued his march into the county of Wexford, burning the country from Lismore to Dungarvan. In this work of devastation he was ably assisted by the Earl of Cork and his sons, one of whom, Lord Kinalmeaky, is thus eulogised in a letter from his father to the Earl of Warwick :— "And now that the boy has blooded himself upon them, I hope that God will bless him ; that as I now write but of the killing of an hundred, I shall

shortly write of the killing of thousands."* Nevertheless, St. Leger and the Earl of Cork could not have withstood the frequent assaults of the masses, undisciplined and poorly armed as they were, had their leaders been unanimous, or agreed on a combined plan of operations. But such was not the case, for the appointment of commanders was an ever recurring subject of controversy among the lower orders who were bent on perpetuating all the errors and vices of the old clan system, which could not discriminate between the fiction of ancient lineage and high mental capacity. It was this that caused the leaders to divide their strength, and make a series of raids on Youghal, Bandon and Kinsale, where they were signally defeated. Mountgarret and Barry invested Cork, but were successfully resisted by St. Leger and Inchiquin, who obliged them to withdraw their forces into Leinster.

Notwithstanding those reverses, the natural result of want of plan and well-combined arrangements, almost every town in Munster was in the hands of the Irish. The Lords Justices, however, were determined on crushing the unorganised levies in the province of Leinster, and Lord Ormond was deputed to command their troops. This nobleman, though of Irish origin, was born in England. At a very early age he was removed from the Catholic school of Finchley, near Barnet, to the tutelage of the archbishop of Canterbury, under whom he abjured the faith of his fathers. He tells us himself that he was, not only by birth, extraction, and alliance, but likewise in his affections, wholly and entirely an Englishman. With military talents of superior order, he was in every respect equal to many of the generals of his time. In diplomacy,

* Smith's History of Cork.

however, he excelled them all. With the most fascinating and artful address, he easily worked himself into the confidence of friends and foes; but under the guise of simplicity and candour he covered a heart which was full of treachery and craft. The Lords Justices had unbounded confidence in him, and he in return made no secret of his high estimation of their polity. Ormond was the hope of that faction which desired nothing so much as the ruin of the Irish Catholics, and it mattered very little how many perished, provided he was spared to carry out the designs of his patrons. In the opinion of the men whom he served, he is described by a writer at the period of which we treat as "The Jewell of the Kingdon; not greater in name than rare abilities."

The Lords Justices were now aware that the time appointed by the prelates for the national synod was fast approaching, and, as it were anticipating the order and organization which they expected to result from the deliberations of congregated hierarchy and lay lords, they determined to strike a blow which would leave the leaders comparatively powerless. One, whose name and influence might have been considerable, did not live to witness the new era, which was about to dawn. Lord Gormanstown, the chief of the Catholic nobility of Leinster, a prey to grief and vexation of spirit, died, and the command of the Leinster levies devolved on Lord Mountgarret. This nobleman, who was married to a daughter of the fugitive Earl of Tyrone, had early distinguished himself in the wars of Queen Elizabeth. In 1559, he successfully maintained the castles of Ballyragget and Coleshill against her Majesty's forces. In the parliament of 1613 and 1615 he was fortunate enough

to win the good will of King James ; and in 1619 he got a confirmation of all his estates with the creation of several manors and various lucrative privileges. He had not, however, the talents which were necessary for a great military leader ; and, like the other lords who had lately joined the " old Irish," " he was forced," according to his own confession, " into the general cause by the example of those, who, as innocent and free from infringing his majesty's laws as himself, had been used in the nature of traitors."

On the 2nd of April, 1642, Ormond marched out of Dublin with 300 foot, 500 horse, and five field pieces. It was on this day that his castle of Carrick had been taken by Colonel Edmund Butler, who caused all the prisoners, including the Countess of Ormond, with her children, and about a hundred Protestants, to be safely conveyed to Dublin. Ormond's object was to victual several detached garrisons, which were still held by the Lords Justices. He went forth with the usual commission to pillage, burn, and kill ; and notwithstanding the humanity and forbearance with which his own people had been treated, he was not slow in carrying out his orders to the very letter. Marching on Carlow, Stradbally, and Maryborough, he, from the latter place sent Sir Charles Coote to reinforce the garrisons in Burris, Knockmenease, and Birr ; which service having been performed, Coote rejoined him at Athy on the 13th.

Mountgarret hoping to intercept Ormond on his return to Dublin, took up a position at the bridge of Mageny, four miles from Athy. He had about 8,000 men, badly armed, and far from being disciplined or provided with cannon. These troops had but three or four companies of horse, and were

nowise formidable, save in number. They were commanded in chief by Lord Mountgarret, and by his lieutenants Lords Ikerrin and Dunboyne, Roger O'Moore, Hugh Byrne, and Sir Morgan Cavanagh. Ormond did not move from Athy until the 15th April, and, much against his inclination, found that it was necessary to attack the Irish. Three miles further on, was a very narrow defile, through which it was almost absolutely necessary that he should march. Mountgarret's men, being unencumbered with baggage, rapidly advanced to seize the pass : but a rising ground concealed from his view a corresponding movement of the English forces. Mortified at finding himself outmarched, he was obliged to halt on a neighbouring height. Some ditches in his front gave him a considerable advantage over Ormond, who ordered Coote to advance and dislodge his enemy. A well-aimed volley from the Irish staggered the advancing column. For awhile they seemed sure of success until they saw Lucas and Grenville on their left, with Ormond's cavalry. An opening in a hedge, which had not been noticed by Mountgarret, gave a passage to Ormond's horse, and the Irish thus taken by surprise broke and fled to a bog at the foot of the hill. Mountgarret, who commanded on the right, still maintained his ground. Against him, Ormond and Sir John Sherlock now led the main body, which had not as yet been engaged in the earlier part of the action. As they ascended they were met with spirit, volley after volley swept their ranks ; but, as the two lines, now face to face, were about to cross pikes, Mountgarret's men fled, nor stopped until they joined their companions who had taken refuge in the bog.

In this fatal action, since known as the battle of

Kilrush, the Irish are said to have lost 700 men, and some of their most distinguished leaders—Mountgarret and Lord Ikerrin fled that night to Tullogh; Roger O'Moore and his brother Lisagh, to his own house near the Boyne; and the O'Byrne of Wicklow to the fastness of Glenmalure. But even after this signal victory, Ormond was in no mood to follow it up. It was quite enough for him that he had forced his way to Dublin, where he was soon after congratulated by a message from the parliament extolling his bravery, and lauding his untiring zeal in pillaging, murdering, and laying the country waste.

The heart of Ireland, far from being crushed by this disaster, was only humbled, for it was soon to receive fresh energy and a bolder spirit. Those who listened to the recital of that failure did not despair. The tree of hope, which they beheld prospectively blossoming, was but a sapling; the storm had only bowed it as it swept by; and those who, to escape the hurricane, had retired for awhile, were soon to rally round it and guard it with greater energy and devotion.

During those transactions in Ireland, King Charles I. was actively engaged with his revolted English subjects, and it was quite impossible that he could give much attention to Irish affairs, busied as he was with the factions who were already meditating the ruin of his crown. The two houses had voted a levy of 10,000 men, in opposition to the king, who intended to make war against the parliament. The royal arsenal at Hull had been forcibly seized by the English rebels, and the arms removed to the Tower. A forced loan, at eight per cent., paid in money and plate, replenished the treasury. The Earl of Warwick took the command of the fleet;

and the Earl of Essex was appointed lord general, with a solemn promise from both Lords and Commons that they would live and die with him in the national quarrel.

To add to the king's embarrassments Queen Henrietta Maria, a princess of France, was represented by the growing party as inimical to the liberty of the subject, and bent on some contrivance for the restoration of Popery, as they were wont to style the Catholic religion of their fathers. Reared in the heart of a despotic court, her religion and pretended ascendancy over the king furnished ample themes for the mal-contented, who argued that the marriage of Charles was far from being sanctified by his Catholic queen. Her confessor was arrested, the service of her chapel dissolved, and she herself had retired to Holland to solicit such means from foreign princes, as would render her husband equal to the difficulties that beset him.

But in Ireland the success of the Catholics might have been far more signal, had there been unanimity between the leaders. There lacked not energy or motive to unite them. The aims of the Puritan faction, represented by Parsons and Borlase, were unmasked, and the conviction which had already seized the minds of the Catholics, grew stronger and struck its roots more deeply day by day. They were now persuaded that the faction who were levying war against the throne had set their hearts on extirpating the professors of the ancient religion, and confiscating whatever property they still retained.

It has been already stated that the provincial synod of Kells had declared the war against the Puritans to be pious and lawful, and the Irish people looked hopefully to a National Synod, composed of

all the bishops and clergy, and counted on enormous advantages to be derived from the deliberations of such an august assemblage.

According to arrangement, the general synod met at Kilkenny on the 10th May, 1642. The Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, with six other bishops, and the proxies of five more, besides vicars-general and other dignitaries, were present. The subjects which they had to treat were of most momentous nature; they regarded war as well as peace, and we may easily believe that the prelates would have had no participation in counselling bloodshed except in such contingencies as would fully justify a resort to arms. The circumstances of the times, however, did call unfortunately for their interposition. Their flocks were exposed to the hatred and rapacity of unrelenting enemies; nor could the episcopal character be compromised, if the hierarchy, under such circumstances, laid aside the crozier for the carnal weapon. The prelate does not give up the citizen when the act of consecration appoints him to watch over his people, and an authority of great weight has decided, that when the rights and liberties of one's country are invaded, it is the duty of *every man* to buckle on the sword.* But it is worth remark, that the acts of this synod were couched in a spirit of Christian charity and wisdom which does honour to the patriot prelates, and contrasts with the edicts of Parsons and Borlase, as day does with night. Before we produce that section of them which has immediate reference to our subject, it is necessary to premise, that the lay-lords

* Tertullian, who says "*in hostem patriæ omnis homo miles*,"—against one's country's enemy every man should be a soldier"

and prelates drew up an oath of association which was to be taken by all Catholics throughout the land. Without this bond of union it was utterly hopeless to expect that the Catholics of the Pale would cordially coalesce with the "old Irish;" and in fact, as the sequel will prove, the oath of association was "the only essential bond" between the two parties. That oath, indeed, was at once grand and simple, nor did it oblige those who took it, to any act incompatible with the Christian precept which ordains that we are to give to God the things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

THE OATH OF ASSOCIATION.

"I, A.B., do profess, swear, and protest before God, and his saints and angels, that I will, during my life, bear true faith and allegiance to my Sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful successors; and that I will, to my power, during my life, defend, uphold, and maintain all his and their just prerogatives, estates, and rights, the power and privilege of the Parliament of this realm, the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith and religion throughout this land; and the lives, just liberties, possessions, estates, and rights of all those that have taken, or that shall take this oath, and perform the contents thereof; and that I will obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made and to be made by the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of this Kingdom, concerning the said public cause; and I will not seek, directly or indirectly, any pardon or protection for any act done, or to be done,

touching this general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said council; and that I will not, directly or indirectly, do any act or acts that shall prejudice the said cause, but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute, and maintain the same.

“Moreover, I do further swear, that I will not accept of, or submit unto any peace, made, or to be made, with the said Confederate Catholics, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the said Confederate Catholics, and for the preservation and strengthening of the association and union of the kingdom. That upon any peace or accommodation to be made or concluded with the said Confederate Catholics as aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions, until a peace, as aforesaid, be made, and the matters to be agreed upon in the articles of peace be established and secured by Parliament. So help me, God, and his holy gospel.”

Such was this solemn oath, or *fædus*, which gave a distinct designation to those who bound themselves by it, and whom we are henceforth to know as the Confederate Catholics of Ireland.

Having issued a manifesto calling on all Irish Catholics to take the oath, in order that all “Irish peers, magistrates, noblemen, cities, and provinces may be tied together with the holy bond of union and concord, and for the conservation and exercise of this union,” they sanctioned the subjoined ordinances:—

“I.—Whereas, the war which now in Ireland the Catholics do maintain against sectaries, and

chiefly against Puritans, for the defence of the Catholic religion, for the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of our gracious King Charles, for our gracious Queen, so unworthily abused by the Puritans, for the honour, safety, and health of their royal issue, for to avert and repair the injuries done to them, for the conversion of the just and lawful safeguard, liberties, and rights of Ireland, and lastly, for the defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands, and possessions ; whereas this war is undertaken for the foresaid causes against unlawful usurpers, oppressors, and the enemies of the Catholics, chiefly Puritans, and that hereof we are informed, as well by divers and true remonstrances of divers provinces, counties, and noblemen, as also by the unanimous consent and agreement of almost the whole kingdom in this war and union, we, therefore, declare that war, openly Catholic, to be lawful and just ; in which war, if some of the Catholics be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions we declare them therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished and restrained with ecclesiastical censures if, advised thereof, they do not amend.

“ II.—Whereas the adversaries do spread divers rumours, do write divers letters, and, under the King's name, do print proclamations which are not the King's, by which means divers plots and dangers may ensue unto our nation ; we, therefore, to stop the way of untruth, and forgeries of political adversaries, do will and command that no such rumours, letters, or proclamations may have place or belief until it be known in a national council, whether they truly proceed from the King, left to

his own freedom, and until agents of this kingdom, hereafter to be appointed by the National Council, have free passage to his Majesty, whereby the kingdom may be certainly informed of his Majesty's intention and will.

" III.—We straightly command all our inferiors, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no alienation, comparison, or difference between provinces, cities, towns, or families ; and lastly, not to begin or forward any emulations or comparisons whatsoever.

" IV.—That in every province of Ireland there be a council made up, both of clergy and nobility, in which council shall be so many persons, at least, as are counties in the province, and out of every city or notable town, two persons.

" V.—Let one general council of the whole kingdom be made, both of the clergy, nobility, cities, and notable towns, in which council there shall be three out of every province, and out of every city, one ; or where cities are not, out of the chiefest towns. To this council the provincial councils shall have subordination, and from thence to it may be appealed, until this National Council shall have opportunity to sit together.

" VI.—Let a faithful inventory be made, in every province, of the murders, burnings, and other cruelties which are permitted by the Puritan enemies, with a quotation of the place, day, cause, manner, and persons, and other circumstances, subscribed by one of public authority.

" VII.—We do declare and judge all and every such as do forsake this union, fight for our enemies, accompany them in their war, defend or in any way assist them, to be excommunicated, and, by these presents, do excommunicate them.

"VIII.—We will and declare all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, unlawful spoilers, robbers of any goods, to be excommunicated, and so to remain till they completely amend and satisfy, no less than if they were namely proclaimed excommunicated." *

The national synod broke up about the end of May, and long before that period the proclamations, issued by the prelates and lay-lords, calling on the people to take the oath of association, had the happiest results. Agents from the synod crossed over into France, Spain and Italy, to solicit support and sympathy from the Catholic princes. Father Luke Wadding, a highly distinguished writer, and then guardian of the Irish Franciscan convent of S. Isidore, at Rome, of which he was founder, was indefatigably employed collecting monies, and urging the Irish officers serving in the Flemish and Spanish armies to return, and give their services to their own land. Nor was this all. The most favourable terms were offered to foreign merchants who would undertake to land munitions of war on the Irish shores; men skilled in the manufacture of arms were invited to come and reside in Ireland, and to exercise their respective professions with exemption from taxes, and other lucrative advantages to themselves and families. Lord Mountgarret was appointed President of the Council, and the October following was fixed for a general assembly of the whole kingdom.

Soon after the battle of Kilrush, Lord Lisle landed at Dublin, with his own regiment of 600 horse carabiniers, and another of 300 dragoons. A portion

* For the decrees of the national synod *in extenso* see Appendix.

of those troops was distributed between Drogheda and Dundalk, and Lord Lisle remained in Dublin awaiting orders from the Lords Justices. At this time Letitia, Baroness Ophaly, grand-daughter to Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare, was besieged in her castle of Geashill, in the King's County, by the O'Dempsies, under the command of Lewis, Lord Clanmalier. This heroine, who inherited the chivalrous spirit of the Geraldines, boldly resisted the overtures and menaces of the besiegers, and finally contrived to send a messenger to Sir Charles Coote, then at Naas, soliciting him to come to her aid. Her request was granted; and Lord Lisle was appointed to command the expedition. He proceeded with Coote and a force of 600 men to Philipstown, and thence to the Baroness's residence, from before which the O'Dempsies retired on their approach. On their return Lisle and Coote rendered assistance to Sir John Giffard, at Castlejordan, and burning the country all the way as they marched, took the castle of Trim, which had been abandoned by the Lords Fingall, Slane, and Trimbleston. When the latter were about to retire, they left nearly 500 men in the neighbourhood, who, rashly thinking they might recover the castle, determined to attack the troops commanded by Coote. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, about daybreak, they invested that old Norman stronghold, but the garrison sallying out repulsed them with loss. Nevertheless, if they had no other success, they rid themselves of an implacable enemy. Coote was shot dead, and, in the words of his eulogist, "Trim was the tragic stage whereon he acted his last part." His body was conveyed to Dublin for burial, and as an acknowledgment of his services, the Lords Justices, with the consent of the Earl of Leicester, appointed his

eldest son to the place vacated by his father.*

But if the confederates had reason to regret their losses in Leinster, they had good reason to congratulate themselves on the progress of events in the south and west. The Lords Justices were cooped up in Dublin, importuning the English parliament to send them supplies of men and money. They could not carry on the war against the confederates on an extensive scale, and their incursions from the city into the neighbouring country had more the character of border raids than regular warfare. In

* Sir Charles Coote served in the wars against Tyrone, and was appointed by James I. Provost Marshal of Connaught for life. The anonymous author of the "Aphorismal Discovery of Faction," recently edited by J. T. Gilbert, Esq., has the subjoined notice of Coote, whose death occurred May 7th, 1642:—"Sir Charles had the town (Trim) without one blow; the weather being cold, Coote, who lodged in the house of Mr. Lawrence Hamon, ordered a fire to be made—fuel being scarce, his son hit upon an ancient image of our Blessed Lady, kept with great veneration in the same house, which young Coote caused to be cloven in sunder to make fire thereof for his father against his coming in. But God did not prolong the punishment of his impiety, for as soon as Coote thought to enjoy the benefit of that transformed—divine fire word came to him that the Irish was in the town: starting forth, all ran to the alarm, being very late in the evening. Sir Charles was shot, and conveyed to his lodging dead. Next day, his corpse was carried to Dublin, where he was honoured by all the Parliamentaries, and interred with the ensuing epitaph:—

'England's honour, Scotland's wonder,
Ireland's terror here lies under.'

A general joy was conceived in all loyal and royalist breasts for the death of this tyrant, as being generally hated of all humanly affected. See how he paid for his firing that night, sure he gave an account in hell of it, for thither he received his ticket that night."

fact, the want of provisions was sorely felt in the city, and it required all the ingenuity of Parsons and Ormond to repress the mutinous dispositions which were every day exhibited by the Puritan soldiers.

The defeat which the Irish had sustained before Cork, was soon succeeded by the capture of Limerick. Early in June, Pierce Butler, Viscount Ikerrin, Lord Muskerry and General Barry, with a numerous body of ill-disciplined troops, sat down before the city. The inhabitants were weary of oppression, and longed for an opportunity to fling off the yoke. They accordingly opened their gates to the confederates, who at once proceeded to attack the castle, while Courtenay, who commanded the place, determined to maintain it to the last extremity.

The confederates commenced their attack by placing a boom across the river, opposite Mockbeggar-mear. This boom—the object of which was to prevent supplies being thrown into the castle by Stradling, who commanded some parliament ships in the Shannon—was composed of long aspin trees, fastened by iron links to two mill-stones on the Clare side, and, at the city side, to the tower on the quay. The fire from Courtenay's guns delayed the completion of the work for awhile; but the object was finally gained. Stradling was unable to succour Courtenay. Muskerry ordered a gun to be mounted on St. Mary's Church, from which he kept up an incessant fire on the castle; but it still held out. On the 21st of June, 1642, three mines were finished, and ready to be sprung. The order was given, and a breach was made in the main wall of the castle. Courtenay was allowed to capitulate, and the city of Limerick was in the hands of the

confederates. This was the most important advantage which they had as yet gained, and, when we take into consideration their want of cannon and ammunition, we may be better able to appreciate the great result. Sir William St. Leger, on hearing the defeat of Courtenay, did not long survive the taking of Limerick. The news had a powerful effect on his health, and he died broken-hearted. If we except his own partisans, no one mourned the death of a man whose career had been disgraced by the most wanton murders, and rapacious exactions.* Nor were the Lords Justices slow in appointing a successor to the late lord president. The man they selected for the military administration of Munster was Murrough O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin. He was the eldest son of Dermid, the fifth of that princely house who had worn an English coronet. About the year 1628, Murrough, son of Dermid, was made a ward to one Fitzmaurice, who undertook to alienate him from the faith of his fathers. The proselytising spirit of the times had two grand objects, which were fully realised in the person of Murrough O'Brien. The first was to denationalise the heart, and the other to engender such a hatred of the Catholic religion as would make the pervert regard with abhorrence all those who adhered to the proscribed faith. An apt instrument in the hands of the Lords Justices was this recreant. His sword red with the blood of the Munster Catholics, and his military experience, the result of his campaigns with the Spanish

* "On the 2nd July, 1642, the Lord President, St. Leger, died at his house in Doneraile, and upon his death the Lords Justices made choice of Lord Inchiquin who had married his daughter, to succeed him, as he had been very active against the rebels."—Smith's Cork.

armies in Italy, recommended him to their regards. It is sad to think that a descendent of the illustrious house of O'Brien could have been found ready and willing to rival the barbarities of Coote, and walk in the blood-stained track of St. Leger ; but such was the fact. Although the blood of Brian flowed in the veins of Murrough, it quickened a heart as savage and anti-Irish as that of the Scandinavian, whom his great ancestor conquered at Clontarf. Tradition still points to many a rifled pile, whose charred and roofless walls are mournful mementoes of this degenerate son of a great Catholic family. In fact when men spoke of him they suppressed his patronymic for "Murrough of the burnings"—an epithet emphatically suggestive of the incendiary's torch, and by this designation he shall be known as long as there remains stone upon stone of that splendid pile which his ancestor, Donald O'Brien, erected to the honour of God, under the invocation of St. Patrick.

But the capture of Limerick was of the greatest advantage to the confederates. With the cannon* which they had taken there they soon battered almost every castle and stronghold of their enemies in that county, with the exception of Loughur and Askeaton, the latter of which belonged to the Earl of Cork. But though these trifling difficulties stood in the way, the entire granary of Munster was in possession of General Barry and Lord Muskerry. Towards the end of July the two generals prepared to march into the county Cork to chastise Inchiquin, and rescue from his gripe the seaport

* "One of the guns," says Carte (Orm.), p. 43, "was of so large a bore, that it was drawn by twenty-five yoke of oxen."

towns which were held for the Parliament by Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Vavasor, Sir John Pawlet, and Sir William Ogle. Lord Barrymore, who had the civil administration of the province, was cooped up in Youghal, and proceeded to hold quarter sessions, in which the chiefs of the confederates were proclaimed traitors.

While the Catholic arms were thus triumphing in the south, Owen Roe O'Neill and Preston landed with officers and arms, the former at Doe Castle,* in Donegal, in the month of July, and the latter in the harbour of Wexford, towards the end of September, 1642.† In the west, three bishops, Malachy O'Queely, of Tuam, Francis, Elphin, and John De Burke, Clonfert, addressed a remonstrance to the Earl of Clanricarde, importuning him to join the national cause, which he declared was, in his opinion, "grounded upon wrong and bad foundations."‡ In vain did Mountgarret and the bishops endeavour to convince him that he was helping to ruin his country. "No argument,"

* For a description of Castle Doe, the princely residence of the MacSwynes, where Owen O'Neill resided for a while after his return to Ireland, see *Illustrated Hand-Book of South-Western Donegal*, by Rev. Mr. Stevens, P.P., Killybeg.

† "Our gracious God seeing the extreme exigence of the Catholics did unexpectedly comfort them; for a post coming from Wexford to Kilkenny with joyful tidings that a frigate landed there loaden with ammunition, sent by Owen O'Neill from Dunkirke as a gift to the kingdom. Owen O'Neill, about the last of July, 1642, landed at Lough Swilly, coming by sea from Dunkirke, taking in his way two prizes, landed with many commanders,ould-beaten soldiers of his own regiment in Flanders; and for his security during his stay there did man Castle-na-do."—*Aph. Discov. of Fact.*, part i., p. 43.

‡ *Clanricarde's Mem.* 11.

said they, "though you should write it in our very blood, will ever persuade the Lords Justices that your affections are sincere, while you bear about you those marks by which they distinguish such as they have appointed for perdition. Let it not come to you to sprinkle your ancestors' graves with the blood of such as will sacrifice themselves in the justifiable cause."* But they failed to gain him over, for he adhered to the Lord President and young Sir Charles Coote, who were spoiling the country and slaying the people.

But Clanricarde's apathy, and the cruelties inflicted on the people by Coote and Lord Ranelagh, only served to exasperate the minds of the masses. Young Murrough Na Dubh O'Flaherty, at the head of a small band, seized Clanricarde's castle of Aghenure, in jar-Connaught. An English ship, lying in the Bay of Galway, was captured by the uprisen populace who thus got a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. The young men who took the vessel entered one of the Galway churches and there bound themselves by an oath of union, in which they swore that they would bear true allegiance to the King, and defend, to the utmost of their power, the Roman Catholic religion. They then closed the gates of the town, and resolved to hold it. They were urged to this step by the example of the Catholics who had been driven out of Cork and Youghal, whose miserable condition," said the Mayor of Galway, "did put us in mind of what we were to expect." A large body of men from jar-Connaught were preparing to invest the fortress of Galway, when Willoughby, who held a commission from the Parliament, set fire to all the houses in the east suburb, and

* Clanricarde's Mem. 171.

wantonly consumed a large amount of property in the neighbourhood. Clanricarde, with nearly a thousand men, hastened to succour this ruthless incendiary, and gave free quarters to his troops from Oranmore to Clare-Galway. He then proceeded to besiege the town, and was not long before it when Captain Ashley entered the bay, with a ship of war, and threw supplies into the fort. Willoughby thereon determined to bombard the town, but was restrained by Clanricarde. Articles were drawn up between the "young men" and the Earl, and in an evil moment Galway was surrendered to his lordship.

But they soon had reason to regret their precipitancy in submitting to the articles proposed by Clanricarde. The fiendish malevolence of Willoughby and Ashley was not satisfied with what they had already done. They were both violent parliamentarians, and cared little for the sanctity of an oath. Willoughby's soldiers openly robbed the people, and without the shadow of reason executed martial law upon the harmless and unoffending. In a fit of puritanical frenzy, he set fire to the suburbs, and burned houses which were rented for more than a thousand pounds a-year. He killed several of the inhabitants, scaled the walls by night, and discharged his heavy guns into the town during an entire day. But the effect was good; "for it brought about and hastened the general and successful confederacy which afterwards ensued."

On the 7th of August a squadron of ships, commanded by Lord Forbes, entered the Bay of Galway, and he immediately put himself in communication with the fort. He declared against the agreement recently made between Lord Clan-

ricarde and the townsfolk, and landed marines who began to burn and pillage houses on the coast. Stimulated by Hugh Peters, Forbes took possession of St. Mary's Church, planted guns against the town, and burned the surrounding villages. He then dug up the graves in the church-yard, and burned the bones and coffins ; nor did he quit the bay till the 4th of September. Nevertheless, Clanricarde kept temporizing with the Lords Justices in Dublin and with the captains commanding the parliamentary cruisers in the Irish Channel. But the hour of retribution was at hand. The clergy boldly exhorted the people to be true to themselves, and imitate the example of their brethren in the south, who had gone over to the confederation. Obedient to the instructions and exhortations of their spiritual guides, the oath of association was cheerfully taken by thousands, and they vowed in their hearts to make their persecutors pay dearly for all the outrages they had endured.

The reduction of the minor castles in the county Limerick engaged the confederate troops during the month of July, and it was not till the 20th of August that General Barry, at the head of 7,000 foot and 500 horse, penetrated into the county Cork. With this force he sat down before the Castle of Liscarroll, which was garrisoned for Sir Philip Percival. The confederate troops besieged at the same time Annagh and another castle belonging to Percival. Liscarroll was declared by Inchiquin to be the strongest fortress in the kingdom, and such was the marshy nature of the soil around it, that Barry was obliged to dismount his guns and lay them in hollow timbers in order to bring them within range. The defenders offered a brave resistance of thirteen days ; nor did they

surrender till Barry had worn out the garrison after a siege.

X This was an important victory for the confederates; for it struck terror to the heart of Inchiquin and the Earl of Cork, and stimulated the sept of the Condons to give the national party valuable assistance elsewhere. In fact, the Castles of Cloghleigh and Coole surrendered to them; and when we bear in mind that those strongholds were well garrisoned, and supplied with pieces of artillery, called sakarets and falcons, we can well afford to admire the efficiency of those whose only arms were pikes and matchlocks.

But although it was necessary that the confederates should have possessed themselves of those strongholds, the result was, in one respect, highly prejudicial to the advancement of the national cause. In fact, the long interval spent before Liscarroll and Annagh gave Inchiquin ample leisure to collect his forces, which had been distributed in cantonments and poorly supplied with provisions. Seizing the fitting moment, he took the field on the 3rd of September (1642) with 2,000 foot and 400 horse.

The confederates, under Lords Roche, Muskerry, Ikerrin, Dunboyne, Castleconnell, Brittas, and General Barry, waited his advance on an eminence in the vicinity of Liscarroll; Inchiquin charged with impetuosity, and was badly wounded in the attack, and Lord Kinalmeaky, son to Boyle, Earl of Cork, of whose bloodthirstiness we have already spoken, was killed by his side. After an obstinate resistance the confederates broke and retreated in hot haste. Sir Charles Vavasour and Inchiquin pursued them to a neighbouring bog, near Kilbolane, where upwards of 700 of them were refused

quarter, and slain in cold blood. The loss in arms, colours, and baggage was considerable. But Inchiquin dared not follow up his victory, and thought it advisable to halt, and secure himself in Mallow. Notwithstanding the boasted success of this action, Inchiquin made very few prisoners; and the result of the battle of Liscarroll was of no great advantage to the arms of the Lords Justices. Vavasour succeeded Kinalmeaky as Governor of Bandon, whence he sent detachments into the surrounding country, making preys of cattle, and wasting the crops.*

In Ulster, the arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill produced the most signal results; for it would appear that, about the time of this event, Sir Phelim, and the other leaders, meditated following the example of the great Earl of Tyrone, and escaping to the Continent. The name and high military reputation of Owen changed their design, and determined them to strike another blow for their native land. The Fabius of his country, as he is justly called, convened a meeting of the northern leaders, in the Castle of Kinard,

* The author of the "Aphorismical Discovery of Faction" relates the following anecdote of Oliver Stephens, a colonel of foot in the confederate army, who was slain in the battle of Liscarroll. "When the army was marching to Liscarroll, Oliver Stephens took leave of his mother, and gave her his last will and testament. He then begged her blessing, who said she would not give it, except on condition that he would spare Inchiquin's life, for he was her nephew, her brother's son. Oliver remarked that this was a hard condition, which ought not be expected of him. But nothing would satisfy her, but compliance with her 'womanish principle.' He then received her blessing, and told her she should never see him again. Charging on the field of Liscarroll he seized Inchiquin, and told him he was his prisoner. Seeing their chief prisoner, his followers followed him, and especially a foster-brother of Inchiquin's,

and he was there and then unanimously appointed general-in-chief of the Ulster Catholics. Munroe was then at the head of 10,000 men in Carrickfergus, and contented himself with seizing and imprisoning those who made any demonstration in favour of the king. The avowed object of the parliament in sending the Scottish forces into Ulster, was to circumvent his majesty, and prevent succours from being sent to him, should he require them from the northern shores. In the month of August, Lord Leven arrived with a detachment for the Scotch general, and addressed a letter to O'Neill, in which he expressed his astonishment that one of his rank and reputation should have come to Ireland to support so bad a cause. O'Neill's answer was bold, and worthy of him:—"I have a better right, my lord, to defend my own country, than your lordship has to march into England against your king."

After a brief sojourn in the north, Leven returned to Scotland; but before leaving he warned Munroe

whom Stephens knew, who was hooded down, with his helmet and body armed, himself a very strong man, nothing from his saddle up of his bodie naked, only his eyes, which Inchiquin's foster-brother observing, laid his pistol un-awares at the gentleman's eyelight, and shot him through the head. Oliver seeing the touch-powder taking fire, aimed with his sword, clave him down to the very shoulders. They together fell down stark dead, whereby the Irish of Munster lost the day. The engagement of that untoward woman was a strong motive to all this mischief, specially of his death, though we may be ascertained to be no death but chance of life; for seven several times that day he did confess, and once received the Holy Eucharist. General Barry was ever after it spoken of by all men that he betrayed the army; and he continued in Limerick after, more like a country boor than a martial general."—Aph. Discov. of Fact., part i., p. 38.

that if O'Neill succeeded in recruiting an army he (Munroe) should most certainly be defeated by the hero of Arras. Nowise depressed or disheartened by the imposing force of Scotch and English then garrisoning Carrickfergus and other places in Ulster, O'Neill and those able adjutants who had come back with him to Ireland, set about fortifying Charlemont, and enlisting able-bodied men—sons of those who had been robbed, persecuted, and driven from their homesteads by the confiscations of James the First—and who now earnestly yearned for an opportunity to chase out the undertakers, and get restoration of their forefathers' fields. The recruits flocked to the standard of the red hand in thousands from Leitrim, Cavan, Longford, and elsewhere, and willingly submitted to the drilling of Owen Roe's subordinates, who, in the quaint phraseology of the anonymous author already quoted, "had learned the art military in the Vulcanian academy of Flanders." The colonels appointed by O'Neill to organise and discipline the rude array that rallied to his colours were, among others, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Roger Maguire, Alexander MacDonald, Philip MacHugh O'Reilly, Turlough O'Neill; several captains of horse, Henry Roe O'Neill (Owen's son), Brian O'Neill, his nephew, Owen O'Doherty, Miles O'Reilly, and many others, all old beaten soldiers, who had seen service in Flanders, Spain, and elsewhere.

The Lords Justices beheld with consternation these important events, and in their appeals to their colleagues and sympathisers in England, set forth that their condition was all but desperate. Like superstitious heathens, they trembled at everything that looked ominous: so much so that, as

they themselves stated, "crows, seagulls, and ravens, pewling and croaking over Dublin Castle frightened them out of their wits, and portended disasters, which they could not divine."*

But, in fact, the event that they dreaded most was the general assembly of the whole kingdom, the time for which was now nigh at hand. And here it may be allowed us to observe that the retrospective and rapid view presented to the reader of the incidents which preceded the general convocation of the lords and commons in Kilkenny, was absolutely necessary for the clearer comprehension of the important facts that were to follow in quick succession.

A few days before the general assembly, Lord Castlehaven and several others who were placed under the surveillance of the Lords Justices escaped from Dublin, and crossing the Wicklow Mountains made their way to Kilkenny, where they found every one actively engaged preparing for war.† We can readily imagine the excitement and enthusiasm that then pervaded the metropolis of the confederates, and realise the figure and fashion of those who crowded its streets. At that time the Celt or old Irish had not generally adopted the English tongue and English costume, and hence it was easy to distinguish the chieftains of the north and south from their brethren of the Pale. The *truis* (trouse), *barraid* (Celtic head-gear), flowing mantle, and colun or glib (so denounced by the author of the "Faery Queen,") were still retained by the old Irish, while the gentry of the Pale, conforming to English mannerism, wore broad black cloth,

* Thorpe Papers, National Library, Kildare-street, Dublin.

† Castlehaven's Memoirs.

and adopted the fashions then prevailing in the court of Charles the First.*

In groups, through the busy and picturesque streets, might be seen men whose dusky features and foreign garb would have pronounced them to be denizens of Antwerp or Madrid ; but in reality they were those Irish officers who, after years of soldiering, had come back to the land of their birth with Owen Roe and General Thomas Preston. And there, too, might be seen prelates and priests who, educated in the schools of Rome, Spain, and Louvain, brought home with them thorough knowledge of the languages of Dante and Calderon, and yet were comparatively ignorant of the English vernacular ! But in dwelling thus on the peculiarities which so markedly distinguished the physiognomy of the two "castes," the reader will regard with indulgence an attempt to bring vividly before him visions of those illustrious Irishmen who have bequeathed to the churches, cloisters, and council-hall of Kilkenny an interest, such as attaches to no other city in Ireland. The shadows of more than two centuries now rest on their graves ; but who can walk the streets of *Canicopolis*,† enter its splendid cathedral, pace the galleries of its castle, ascend its mysterious round tower, or pause before its decaying mansions and alms-houses, and not evoke recollections of Strongbow, David Roth, Rinuccini, and the associates of the latter in the days of the confederation ?

* Walker's Letter on the Dress of the Irish of the Pale, and the Celtic Tribes.

† City of St. Canice.

CHAPTER II.

WHEN the Catholic deputies were assembling in Kilkenny, to establish the confederate government, and adopt those administrative measures of which we are now to treat, war had broken out in England between the king and the parliament. Lord Essex had command of the rebel army, and Charles the First, summoning around him such of the nobles as yet stood firm in their allegiance, raised his standard at Nottingham, and called on his subjects to "give Cæsar his due."

Those who were up in arms against their monarch, were in close communication with the Lords Justices in Ireland. They understood each other well, and mutually vowed to turn all their strength against the Irish Catholics when they had accomplished their designs in England. It is hardly necessary to observe that the confederates knew that in the din of arms, and the confusion consequent on the collision between the king and the parliament, they could hope for no amelioration of their condition, or concession of the Graces which had been so dearly purchased, and so long withheld. To submit to the dictates of Parsons and Borlase, was to sacrifice life and what the Irish appreciated most of all, religion, so that nothing now remained for them but to take the government into their own hands, and save themselves and the country from the machinations of the Puritans. War with the Lords Justices had now become inevitable, and the Lords and gentry of the Pale resolved, like the represen-

tatives of the old Irish, to maintain with the sword their own inalienable rights, and, if necessary, to shed their blood in upholding the prerogatives of the crown.

On the 24th of October, therefore, twenty-five peers,—eleven spiritual, fourteen temporal,—and two hundred and twenty-six commoners had met within the walls of Kilkenny to keep watch and ward over the resurgent liberties of their native land. The first meeting of the confederate parliament was held in the mansion of Sir Robert Shea, which stood in the market place, and within view of that exquisitely sculptured sign of redemption which through some affected apprehension of idolatrous rites has long since been removed to make room for a vulgar pump. That mansion, doubtless, must have been a capacious one to accommodate so large an assemblage, and up to a recent period, its great oaken floors and the massive solidity of its walls attested its antiquity, and we may presume the opulence of the distinguished family to which it had belonged for centuries. Sir Richard Belling, who was a prominent figure in the Confederation, and an eye witness of its vicissitudes, tells us that the estates, spiritual and temporal, sat in the same hall, and that a tier of benches, raised one above the other, was deemed necessary in order to give ample accommodation to the Lords and Commons. An upper or private room was appropriated to the lords for consultation; and the ecclesiastics not qualified by their sees or abbacies to sit among the lords, met in an adjoining mansion, which was called the House of Convocation. Mr. Patrick Darcy, bare-headed and seated on a fald-stool, represented all or some of the judges and masters in Chancery that used to sit in Parliament upon the wool-sack, while

Mr. Nicholas Plunket acted as speaker of the House of Commons, and to him, both Lords and Commons addressed their respective speeches. Thomas O'Quirke, an eloquent and learned Dominican of the Convent of Tralee was appointed preacher and chaplain in ordinary to both houses. The assembly, therefore, had all the appearances of a parliament, although the first act of the temporal peers, prelates, and commons was a declaration that they did not mean it as such, as they feared any infringement of the prerogative of the crown to which belonged the privilege of calling, proroguing, and dissolving the Senate. It was, however, a provisional government to consult and order of their own affairs, "till his majesty's wisdom had settled the present troubles."

The interval between the first day of meeting and the end of October was occupied in making those preliminary arrangements and administering the oath of association to such as had not yet taken it. On the 1st of November a committee was appointed, by the estates spiritual and temporal, to draw up a form of the confederate government. The committee was composed, amongst others, of Lords Castlehaven and Gormanstown, and the lawyers, the chief of whom were Patrick D'Arcy, Sir Phelim O'Neill, and Richard Belling. On the fourth of the month the two houses formally approved the acts of the committee, and on the same day the prelates issued a mandate to their clergy throughout Ireland, charging them to administer the oath of association to their respective flocks, and pay due obedience to the new government, the spirit of which may be easily found in the following details:—

Magna Charta and the common and statute laws of England, in all points not contrary to the

Roman Catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberty of Ireland, were acknowledged as the basis of the new government.

The confederate lords and commons resolved that each county should have its council, consisting of one or two deputies out of each barony, and where there was no barony, of twelve persons elected by the county in general, with powers to adjudicate on all matters cognizable by justices of the peace, pleas of the crown, suits for debts, and personal actions, and to restore possessions usurped since the war; to name all the county officers, saving the high sheriff, who was to be elected by the supreme council, out of three whom the council of the county were to recommend. From these there was an appeal to the provincial councils, which were to consist of two deputies out of each county, and were to meet four times a year, or oftener, if there was occasion, to examine the decisions of the county councils, to decide all suits like judges of assize, to establish recent possessions, but not to interfere with other suits about lands except in cases of dower.

From these there lay a further appeal to the supreme council of twenty-four persons who were to be elected by the general assembly, of which twelve were to be constantly resident in Kilkenny, or wherever else they should judge it to be most expedient, with equal voices, but two-thirds to conclude the rest; never fewer than nine to sit in council, and seven to concur in the same opinion; out of these twenty-four a president was to be named by the assembly, and was to be always one of the twelve resident, and in case of death or any other serious impediment, the other residents out of twenty-four were to select a president.

It was also enacted that the council should be vested with power over all generals, military officers, and civil magistrates, who were to obey their orders, and send an account daily of their actions and proceedings; to determine all matters left undecided by the general assembly. Their acts to be of force till rescinded by the next assembly; to command and punish all commanders of forces, magistrates, and all others of what rank and condition soever; to hear and judge all capital and criminal causes (saving titles to lands), and to do all kinds of acts for promoting the common cause of the confederacy, the good of the kingdom, and the support and management of the war.

And as the administrative authority was to be vested in the supreme council, it was decreed that at the end of every general assembly, the supreme council should be confirmed or changed, as the general body thought fit.

Ten days after these enactments had been sanctioned by the general assembly, they proceeded to elect the supreme council, when Lord Mountgarret was chosen president. Six were selected out of each province, and after the necessary forms had been gone through, the following were declared duly elected:—

For Leinster—The archbishop of Dublin,* lord Viscount Gormanstown, Nicholas Plunket, Richard Belling, James Cusack. For Ulster—Archbishop of Armagh,† Bishop of Down and Connor,‡ Philip O'Reilly, Col. MacMahon, Heber Magennis, Tirlogh O'Neill. For Munster—Lord Viscount Roche,

* Thomas Fleming, O.S.F., c. 1623, d. in Galway 1651.

† Hugh O'Reilly, c. 1627, d. 1651.

‡ Arthur Magennis, nephew to Owen Roe, c. by Rinuccini in Kilkenny, 1647, d. at sea 1652. (See O'Laverty's admirable History of the Diocese of Down and Connor.)

Sir Daniel O'Brien, Edmund Fitzmorris, Dr. Fennell, Robert Lambert, George Comyn. For Connaught—archbishop of Tuam,* Lord Viscount Mayo, Bishop of Clonfert, Sir Lucas Dillon, Geoffrey Brown, and Patrick D'Arcy.

On these rested the great national responsibility, nor were they slow in taking such measures as they deemed necessary for the welfare of the kingdom. Their first act was to name the generals who were to command under their authority. Owen Roe Mac-Art O'Neill was appointed to command in chief all the Ulster forces, and Thomas Preston, those of Leinster.† Barry was named commander-in-chief in

* Malachy O'Queely, c. 1631, killed 1645 and succeeded by John Burke 1647, d. 1666. The latter held the see of Clonfert from 1639 to 1647, when he was advanced to the see of Tuam. For Biographies of those and the other prelates who figured during the confederation see "Irish Hierarchy, 17th Cent." Dublin, J. Duffy.

† The author of the "Aph. Discov. of Faction" states that the supreme council, most of whom were partizans and creatures of Lord Ormond, "were dubious of the greatness of O'Neill, in case he was appointed by them generalissimo of all Ireland, as being sure, whether they will or no, he must be General for the Ulster province." In other words Mountgarret, then seventy years of age, and his adherents knew that they could not bend such a stern, upright soldier as Owen Roe to their own purposes and politics. Preston, whom the same author describes as "a delicate person in his diet, fine in his deportment, wavering in his resolutions, imperious in his precepts, etc." hated O'Neill, and although he gave his daughter in marriage to Sir Phelim, had little or no sympathy with the Ulster men. "His own fellow soldier," says the anonymous author, "now General Preston, did bear him an antient grudge, though he smothered it and dissembled; and Sir Phelim considering the disposition of the supreme council and General Preston towards Owen O'Neill without privity of any of his friends to indear himself that way, then a single man, married in Kilkenny General Preston's daughter, a Dutch borne, with the only portion of some few

Munster, and John Burke was to be lieutenant-general in Connaught, reserving the chief command to Clanricarde, who, it was thought, would sooner or later declare for the confederation. But as no act or instrument emanating from the supreme council could be genuine and of force, unless sealed with their own seal, they caused one to be made which may be described thus. It was circular and in its centre was a cross, the base of which rested on a flaming heart, while its apex was surmounted by the wings of a dove. To the dexter appears a harp, and on its sinister an imperial crown. The legend was happily chosen—*Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria Hiberni Unanimes*. One of the earliest documents signed with this great seal was an order to raise thirty thousand pounds sterling in Leinster, and at same time, in same province, thirty-one thousand seven hundred men who were to be drilled and disciplined with least possible delay by those officers who had landed with General Thomas Preston. Brigades of the new levies were to garrison such places as the Confederates possessed in Leinster, and a considerable force was to hold itself in readiness to take the field whenever circumstances might require its mobilization. Mr. Nicholas Plunket was appointed Muster-Master General, and any locality refusing to contribute its due proportion of men capable of bearing arms, was to be punished by a system of free quarters.

Under same seal an order was issued to establish a mint in Kilkenny, and those who were wealthy and heart and soul in the good cause made large contributions of silver plate to the national treasury; so much

arms, and hopes to foment jealousies in the future."—Aph. D. of F., part I. p. 53.

so, that in a brief interval four thousand pounds sterling, of the value and goodness of English money, were coined. The absence of embellishment or legend on the silver money is an evidence of the haste in which it was struck, for the half-crown piece bears no device but a cross and the figures indicating its current value. The copper coin, however, is more highly finished, and the legend "*Ecce Grex, Floreat Rex,*" together with the figure of David with his harp, would almost convince us that it came from the confederate mint some time subsequent to 1642. Along with the mint the supreme council caused printing presses to be set up in Waterford and Kilkenny for the publication of their proceedings, and books which were then sadly needed for educational purposes throughout Ireland. Among those who took especial interest in the intellectual culture of his countrymen we may here mention Roger O'More, who in a letter dated Wexford, 20th September, 1642, besought the learned Irish Franciscans of Louvain to come to Ireland with their founts of type—*Irish, Latin and monuments*, (books), in order to set up a school which was to be superintended by Flan Mac Egan, an eminent scholar then residing in Lower Ormond, Co. Tipperary.*

* O'More's letter appears in full in "Irish Hierarchy, 17th Cent." p. 385. While on this subject it may not be inopportune to reproduce here a fact mentioned by the notorious Father Paul Harris, showing as it does the hatred with which the Lords Justices pursued Catholic teachers. "Cormac Higgins having been arrested by order of the Justices on the double charge of his religion and keeping a school for the education of some studious youths—a privilege denied to all Catholic schoolmasters—was seized with fever and died in the village of Rattin, Co. Westmeath, in the arms of his beloved doctor, Donatus O'Sheil."—*Arctomastix*, p. 50.

While engaged on those important matters, the supreme council made every possible effort to supply the people with corn, of which great dearth had been caused by the troops in the pay of the Lords Justices ever since the rising of 1641.

Anticipating that all these seaport towns should soon come into their possession, they decreed that the duty should be taken off wheat and every description of grain imported from foreign countries till such time as the dearth should be either entirely removed or lessened. The same exemption was extended to lead, iron, arms and ammunition. Attracted by such profitable advantages, which were well calculated to foster a spirit of enterprise, a Dutch captain—Antonio Vandezepen—had already landed some tons of gunpowder on the coast of Wexford, while ship-builders and mariners who would settle themselves in Ireland were guaranteed all the privileges of free denizens.

The supreme council, furthermore, ordained that the bishops and clergy should pay into the national treasury a certain sum out of the revenues then in their possession, as well as out of such benefices and church lands as might revert to them during the progress of the war. But as the means for prosecuting the struggle were precarious—the confiscations of James the First having, to a great extent, pauperised the Irish Catholics—the council resolved to send agents to the Catholic courts to supplicate aid in money, arms, and ammunition—to say nothing of moral support—for a people who had risen in defence of their sovereign, native land, and religion. They, therefore, appointed Father Luke Wadding* their agent at Rome—Urban VIII.,

* Born in Waterford, 1588, d. in Rome 1657. For a memoir of him, see "Franciscan Monasteries." Dublin, J. Duffy.

then reigning in the Vatican—and, indeed, they could not have elected any one more zealous or eminently qualified for a work, which to him was a labour of love. His all-absorbing studies seem to have been forgotten for a while, and the pen which he devoted to immortalising the saints and learned men of his order, was now employed in drawing up memorials to the Catholic sovereigns, cardinals, and lay-princes, beseeching them to look benignly on his suffering and struggling country. Nor were his appeals disregarded, for in a brief interval, a sum of twenty thousand crowns was placed at his disposal. This he at once forwarded by a confidential messenger to the national treasury. The agent accredited to the Spanish Court was James Talbot, an Augustine friar, who there collected twenty thousand crowns, and, on visiting the French court, succeeded in procuring an additional sum, together with two great iron guns, casting twenty-four pound balls. Nor should we omit stating that a Father O'Sullivan, of the Franciscans, was sent by his Order, early in 1641, to represent to his Catholic majesty the actual condition of Ireland, and to desire, in the name of that nation, his royal helping hand. Philip the Fourth behaved munificently, and the result of the good friar's quest was 3,000 pounds sterling in plate, silver coin, four demi-cannon for each province, 2,500 muskets, 300 barrels of powder, with match, bullet and pikes. A frigate landed this precious freight at Dungarvan in 1642, and the friars—O'Sullivan representing the old Irish in the Franciscan cloister, and Talbot the "modern" in that of St. Augustine—contested the honour of having gotten such a substantial alms from the Spanish king. How the brawl ended is not told, but it is certain, if we may believe

the authority from which the story emanates, that the modern Irish, *i.e.* General Thomas Preston's people, got the largest share of the king's largess. "The arms and ammunition were the gift of F. Francis Sullivan's suite in the Catholic court, though they did falsely father it on F. J. Talbot, an unoculous young friar, but being Talbot, and the other an ancient Irish, must cede him in heroic actions."*

Nor were those acts of the confederates done clandestinely as if dreading the light of day: quite the contrary, for in a manifesto published in Kilkenny, they decreed that the Irish Catholics, driven by the perfidy and cruelty of the rebel Puritans, had taken arms in defence of their religion, king, and country—that the enemy they had to combat was in each of the four provinces, and that they had resolved, with Heaven's assistance, to effect his expulsion. While the temporal peers were preparing to realise that longed for result, the prelates were actively engaged sending instructions to their respective dioceses, rousing the tepid, and chiding those who thought that Ireland had no chance against the overwhelming power of England. As for the temporal peers, they pronounced severest penalties against those who refused to rally round the confederate colours, and the bishops declared those who declined to take the oath of association, traitors to God, king, and country. Nay, more, they excommunicated all and every one who made distinction between modern and ancient Irish, or wantonly committed murder, pillage, or any action that might unbeseem the sanctity of the object for the attainment of which the Catholics of the Pale, and their co-religionists, from the north and south, had sworn to commingle their blood on

* Aph. Discov. part I. pp. 33. 49.

the field of battle. But as the enfranchisement of the Catholic religion was their chiefest and dearest aim, the spiritual and temporal peers and commons bound themselves by oath, to never lay down their arms till the Roman Catholic religion was restored to its full splendour as it was in the reign of Henry VII., and all the penal and restrictive laws were annulled. Furthermore, it was decreed by both houses that all primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, chancellors, vicars, and their respective successors, shall have, hold and enjoy all the churches, and church livings in as large and ample manner as the late Protestant clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October (1641), together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and other rights to their respective sees and churches belonging, as well as in all places then in possession of the confederated Catholics, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by them from the adverse party, saving to the Roman Catholic laity their respective rights, according to the laws of the land.

It would be superfluous to dwell at any length on the wonderful change which the social and political condition of the Irish Catholics had undergone in the brief interval of a single year. Courts for the administration of justice were established in all the confederate towns, and able officials appointed to the various departments. A mint and a press would seem to have been the creation of a moment. Envoys or agents were despatched to foreign courts, and their credentials were recognised by Urban VIII., Philip IV. of Spain, and Anne of Austria during the minority of Louis XIV. Richelieu, then ruling France, took a lively interest in their proceedings,

but he did not live to witness their occasional triumphs, and final collapse.* They issued letters of marque, and chartered some light vessels, flying confederate colours, to cruise along the Irish shores,—in short, they took the government of the island on themselves, levying armies, and giving commissions under their great seal to the generals and subordinate officers who were to take the command. Mr. Cusack, a profound lawyer, was appointed Attorney-General, and one Plunket held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, other officials having been advanced to the various departments, civil and military. Having accomplished this grand work, they published a declaration of independence, in which they boldly asserted that no temporal government and jurisdiction should be assumed, kept, and exercised in the Kingdom of Ireland, or within any county or province thereof, except such jurisdiction or government as is, or shall be, appointed by the General Assembly, and supreme council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland.

The General Assembly closed its first session by drawing up a remonstrance in which they set forth their loyalty to the crown, and exposed the vexatious tyranny of the Lords Justices and the Irish Parliament, which, for the most part, was composed of the undertakers and planters who had profited by the confiscations in the beginning of the reign of James the First. The Remonstrance, furthermore, exhibited to his majesty the unparalleled cruelties inflicted on the sept of the O'Byrnes in the county Wicklow, and the bigotry of the Lords Justices who, as we have already seen, would

* He died in December, 1642, and was succeeded by Card. Mazzarine.

not tolerate a Catholic schoolmaster, but treated him as a felon.

In this appeal to the king's sense of justice, the supreme council implored his majesty to confirm the "graces," so dearly paid for by his Irish Catholic subjects, and withheld by the artifices of the Lords Justices, who, by bribing jurors, and promising them a share of the lands which they meant to confiscate, on the plea of defective titles, barred any chance of a fair trial in the courts of law. The remonstrance wound up with a categorical detail of the many murders committed by the agents of Parsons and Borlase, and was forwarded by a trusty messenger for presentation to the King and Queen, Henrietta Maria. The assembly broke up on the 9th of January, and fixed their next meeting for the following May.

The summary of facts presented to the reader in this and the preceding chapters proves that the confederates had determined to rehabilitate Catholicism by taking possession of the cathedrals and churches, with their revenues, for the benefit of those whom the English schism had disinherited. In other words, they had bound themselves to reform the reformation, and to assert the supremacy of the ancient faith. Looking on this as a conscientious obligation,—or affecting to regard it as such, as some of them did, they held that the war they had begun to wage was a veritable crusade, and that the enemies they had to encounter were, in the religious aspect, little better than blasphemous infidels. Nothing, assuredly, but some sentiment of this sort could have prompted them to adopt the singularly characteristic military ensigns which were to be borne to the battle-field in the van of their battalions :—

THE CONFEDERATE BANNERS.

1. The white banner flecked with blood stains, bears the image of the Crucified : motto, "It is meet and just to die for Christ."

2. The green banner presents the image of the Redeemer bearing cross on his shoulders : motto, "I suffered that I may conquer."

3. The yellow banner presents image of the Redeemer risen from the tomb : motto, "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered."

4. The red banner bears the sacred name : motto, "At name of Jesus every knee shall bend."*

5. The blue banner displays portrait of the B. V. Mary with divine infant in her arms, and crushing the serpent's head : motto, "God hath broken our chains."

6. The crimson banner, a silver arm, armoured, protruding from a cloud, and holding lance of same colour : motto, "My strength from above."

7. The silver-coloured banner, a knight armed *cap-a-pie*, and with a torch setting fire to Calvin's "*Institutiones*" : motto, "So may heresies perish."†

8. The purple banner exhibits image of the

* A protest against the impiety of the Puritans, who held that every sign of reverence for the super-sacred name was an idolatrous act,—a popish abomination.

† A protest against the Calvinists and Puritans, who would have the article, "He descended into Hell," removed from the Apostles' Creed because the Papists used it as an argument for Purgatory, etc. The present learned bishop of Ossory was the first to publish the foregoing description of the C. Banners, the original of which he found among the Wadding papers in Rome. A banner which may have belonged to the confederates, and which was discovered in Kilkenny in 1846, by the present writer, is religiously preserved in the Dominican novitiate, Tallaght, Co. Dublin.

Saviour liberating the fathers from Limbus : motto, "The conqueror returns from the pit (*ex Carathro*), or the image of Judith grasping a golden-hilted sword, and dealing Holofernes a mortal blow : motto, "The Lord avengeth his people."

They also decreed, that each banner should exhibit on its dexter side, an Irish cross within a red circle on a green field, with, under the cross, this epigraph, "Long live King Charles," and above it the letters C. R. and the imperial crown.

CHAPTER III.

So intent were the Lords Justices on extirpating "Papists" that they resolved, if possible, to suspend Poyning's act, and thus leave themselves free to pass fresh penal laws independently of the English parliament. In this, however, they were successfully opposed by Ormond on whom the king had recently bestowed the title of Marquis.

Meanwhile the Puritan parliament had been sitting in Dublin Castle, and it is almost superfluous to observe that the Irish Catholics were entirely unrepresented, or, we might say, grossly misrepresented by the members of the upper and lower Houses. It was ordered that Sir Phelim O'Neill, Member for Dungannon, Richard Belling, Member for Callan, Co. Kilkenny, Maguire, Mac Hugh O'Reilly, and other Catholic representatives should be declared rotten members, indicted of high treason, and outed the house. It was also ordered that new warrants should issue for the election and return of other burgesses to serve in this parliament

in the place of said persons "who had taken the oath of association, and risen in rebellion against his majesty."

Foiled in the matter of Poyning's law, and eager to ventilate their mendacious assertions, the Lords Justices took into their pay one Stephen Jerome, a fanatical ranter, "turbulent, empty and illiterate," who, each morning at seven o'clock, preached to the soldiers in St. Patrick's, and occasionally in the older cathedral of the Holy Trinity in presence of the "state" and other persons of rank. This wretched brawler, who was as scurrilous as the apostate, John Knox, heaped every sort of slander on the Irish Catholics generally, nor did he spare unfortunate King Charles whom he denounced so unsparingly that Bulkley, schismatic archbishop of Dublin, found it necessary to interdict him.

The proceedings of the general assembly were well calculated to dismay the Lords Justices whose want of money rendered their troops all but mutinous. Finding their appeals unheeded by England, they called in all the plate which their Irish partizans could give, and caused it to be coined into half-crown pieces and distributed among the hirelings whose clamour they thus silenced for a while. But what alarmed them most of all was the successful levy of troops, ordered by the supreme council, in Leinster, and the cheerful readiness with which the Catholic gentry and middle classes contributed to the national treasury. Furthermore, the exertions of Preston's officers were beyond all praise, so much so, that their general declared he would soon be able to take the field, with a large and well-disciplined contingent. Preston, it is true, could not furnish the entire of his force with matchlocks, but the pike

was easily procured, and at that time it was regarded as the queen of weapons. He had also at his disposal some light pieces of artillery, nor should we forget that of the two thousand matchlocks recently landed in the harbour of Wexford, fifteen hundred were apportioned to him, and the residue to Owen Roe O'Neill.

General Burke, whom the supreme council appointed to command their forces in Connaught, proved himself an energetic and most efficient officer, and his popularity attracted multitudes who took the oath of association, and offered to serve in his ranks. With a small band of followers, he entered the Dominican church of Athenry,* and there caused Clanricarde's chaplain to bless the confederate banners according to the formula of the Roman Pontifical. On learning this, Clanricarde dismissed the chaplain. But the petty tyranny and officious zeal of this temporizing nobleman was of no effect, for the bishops and clergy denounced him as a partizan of Willoughby, who had done such wanton injury to the inhabitants of Galway and its suburbs.

In the south, Inchiquin remained inactive since the battle of Liscarroll, but Lord Forbes landed at Kinsale and marched a considerable force as far as Rathbarry where a Scotch regiment under his command was surprised and cut to pieces by the peasantry, who were far from being well armed or disciplined. One Gray, who held captain's rank under Forbes, fell on this rude array, flushed with victory, and forced 600 of them into the island of

* Founded by Meyler de Bermingham, A.D. 1241, and granted to Richard, Earl of Clanricarde, called Richard of Kinsale, for having fought there against O'Neill, O'Donnell and the Spaniards in 1601.

Inchidony, where the tide being in, they all were drowned.

Meanwhile, Owen O'Neill had been actively engaged strengthening the fortress of Charlemont, which he made his head-quarters,—and securing it against Munroe and Sir Robert Stewart, whose troops were cantoned in Down, Antrim, and Donegal. Having taken these precautions, and left in Charlemont a garrison strong enough to repel surprise or attack, the Ulster general, accompanied by his sons and staff, retired for a while into the counties of Leitrim and Longford in order to attract to his standard a large force of able-bodied men, who, he knew were inured to hardships in those rugged districts, and only too anxious to serve under such a distinguished leader. And, indeed, he could not have selected a fairer field for his enterprise than that which lay open to him in said counties—that of Leitrim especially—where Sir Frederick Hamilton, and the son of the late Sir Charles Coote, had driven the unfortunate Irish to desperation. Hamilton's baronial mansion* was manned by a truculent body of retainers, well-armed and disciplined, who committed every manner of excess in the surrounding districts, sparing neither age nor sex in their sanguinary raids. Upon a hill near his residence, Sir Frederick erected a gallows, from which a fresh victim was suspended every day; and among those whom he consigned to that ignominious death were the brother of the O'Rourke, his wife, and some of their nearest kindred. As matter of course, the MacGaurans, O'Connors, O'Rourkes, and other indigenous septs, with their dependents were but too glad to take service

* Manor-Hamilton built in 1641.

under a general, who, they hoped, would one day enable them to inflict condign punishment on Hamilton* and his Puritanical followers.

While the respective generals were mustering their troops and organising the new levies, the supreme council remained in Kilkenny watching the progress of events, and making preparation for the coming struggle. The enthusiasm of the confederates had reached its culmination, and they looked hopefully to Spain and France for further aids in arms and money, nay, and for agents who would be accredited to them by the sovereigns of said countries, and his holiness, the Pope.†

About the middle of December‡ (1642), the supreme council closed their deliberations and proceeded to Wexford escorted by their body-guard of 500 foot, and 200 horse, which were told off to accompany them wherever they went, and to garrison every town they visited. Their object in going to

* Sir Frederick kept a Diary which was published in London in 1643. A single extract will show how he regarded the Irish and their religion—"March 17th (1642), being their Patron's day, our colonel sending for one of his prisoners, the rogues (Irish) being drawn up in a body before us, we called to them to come and rescue the prisoner who was there to be hanged, in honour of St. Patrick, which prisoner being hanged, and proving but an old sack of straw, long stockings being sewed to it, as it was thrown over the gallows, our hangman sitting thereon, calling to them, if they had charity in them, to send the poor prisoner a priest. They imagining that sack to be a man, fell all on their knees in our view, praying for the prisoner's soul."

† The first sent by the king of France was M. La Monarie, who was succeeded by M. Du Moulin, and after him, M. Talloon. The king of Spain first sent M. Fuyssot, a Burgundian, to whom succeeded the Earl of Berhaven, grandson of O'Sullivan Bere, the heroic defender of Dunboy, created Earl by the King of Spain. Father Scarampo was sent by Urban VIII

‡ O.S.

Wexford was "to compose animosities," and release from prison those who had been committed for offences against the government of the Lords Justices. Their visit produced the happiest result, for the chiefest of the burgesses of the old Anglo-Norman town took the oath of association, and pledged themselves to make every sacrifice for their religion, king and country. Such an accession to the national cause might well be deemed most valuable, for "the townsmen of Wexford were naturally as violent and stubborn at land as they were famous among the nation for being daring at sea." *

From Wexford † the supreme council proceeded to New Ross where they were waited on by M. de Overmere, a man of quality from the Low Countries, and relative of General Preston. This gentleman made the council an offer of some frigates on the proviso that he was to command same. After mature deliberation, the council declined the tender because Overmere was a subject of Spain, and they feared to offend the French and the United Provinces then actually at war with the former kingdom. Soon afterwards, however, a number of light vessels came from Antwerp, and to those they gave letters of marque. Francis Oliver, a native of Flanders, was appointed to command the St Michael the Archangel, a ship of 120 tons, orlasts, and he was specially charged to "prejudice all such as he should meet of his majesty's enemies, and the enemies of the general Catholic cause."

* Belling's Narrative of the War.

† In 1641, the Cavanaghs and Byrnes cleared the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, except Duncannon, commanded by Esmond, who went over to the Parliamentarians. Esmond was a traitor to God as well as to his earthly sovereign.—Aph. Discov. I. 16.

From New Ross the supreme council went to Clonmel, whence they depatched letters to the mayor of Limerick, exhorting him to draw that ancient city into the Confederacy. Limerick city and county had already declared for the national cause, but so great was the influence of the Marquis of Thomond with the citizens that they "wished to maintain themselves as a free state." In fact, when the council with their escort approached Limerick, the mayor signified to the former that dearth of corn would not allow them to admit any number of troops within the walls. He,* however, gave solemn assurance of his friendship, and that of the citizens, who had determined to withstand all overtures of the English and Irish Puritans. This announcement quieted the apprehensions of the supreme council, and they returned to Kilkenny after having commissioned Sir Daniel O'Brien to seize the castle of Bunratty, and the person of the Earl of Thomond, who, "if he could be forced to join the confederates without touching on his religion, (he was a Protestant,) should be in the condition of their confederates; or if he continued neuter, without adhering to the enemy, should have a competent part of his estate, and no declaration made by which he would be subject to the penalties of neutrals." Sir Daniel O'Brien, however, did not arrest his noble kinsman, who subsequently delivered his splendid mansion† to the Puritans

* Piers Creagh.

† The Aph. Discov. part I. p. 105, records the following amusing incident :—"Before the arrival of Adams and his party, Thomond did bury in the walls of his house all his gold, silver, and plate, made up the same again and caused all the room to be rough cast with hot lime. The garrison would not permit his lordship to continue there, but must pack away. Some knave discovered the sheltering his

commanded by Colonel Adams. Hitherto, Inchiquin and his cousin, Thomond, had been foes, but the surrender of Bunratty reconciled them. Herod and Pilate made friends on that occasion.

Whilst the supreme council were thus advancing the interests of the confederates, Preston, and his lieutenant-general, Lord Castlehaven, had opened the campaign in Leinster. The army commanded in chief by the former amounted to 6,000 foot, 600 horse, and some field pieces drawn by oxen. With this force, Preston reduced several castles garrisoned by the Lords Justices' troops—among others the castle of Birr, which surrendered on the 20th January 1642,* after articles† had been entered into by the "Lord General of Leinster," and Wm. Parsons, the governor. Eight hundred men, women and children who had found shelter in the castle during the siege, were placed under protection of

coyne, whereupon the soldiery seized his lordship, and must tell where his treasure lay, swore to kill him. To rid himself of the danger he revealed the truth, and before his very face, they took all from off the wall, and would not give him a farthing of it." Bunratty was highly admired by Binuccini and Massari, dean of Fermo, familiar as they were with the splendid palaces of Italy.—See Irish Hierarchy, 17th Cent. p. 233, and Lenehan's exhaustive History of Limerick.

* O.S.

† Among other articles agreed upon the following deserves to be recorded:—"The governor (Parsons,) shall have two oxen to draw his carriage, and the Lady Philips and the Lady Parsons shall have two pair of sheets, and to each pair of sheets, a pair of pillows, all their clothes, and two feather beds." In consideration of the humanity with which he was treated by Preston, Parsons promised to use his best endeavours with the Lord Justice and council for the enlargement of Nicholas Egan of Rath-Coffey, Catherine Preston, his wife, and her sister, a nun, who were prisoners in Dublin Castle.

Castlehaven, who escorted them to Athy, whence they went to Dublin. The people, thus humanely treated, were the descendants of the undertakers, for whose benefit the old Irish were evicted by James I. Soon after the taking of Birr, Preston sent summons to Castlestewart, governor of Fortfalkland, *alias* Banagher, in the MacCoghlan's country, and the place was yielded to him without firing a shot.

Along with the other strongholds that Preston reduced were the Castle of Borris-in-Ossory in the Queen's County, which yielded on summons, Edenderry, and Castle-Jordan (Sir John Giffard's manor), each of which surrendered at discretion; so that the Leinster general was for a while master of all the forts in the King's County. Returning to Kilkenny, he was feted by the supreme council and burgesses, and, after a brief sojourn there, resumed his command in the vicinity of Clonard, where he was roughly handled by a strong force sent from Dublin. The enemy, in fact, recovered nearly all the garrisons that had yielded to Preston, who retired with the remnant of his army to Kissavanan on the borders of Westmeath, where Captain Barnaby Geoghegan "made his half-moons and redoubts, maintaining himself there since the beginning of the commotions."* From Kissavanan, Preston proceeded to Kilkenny, where the supreme council made good the losses sustained in his late encounter with the enemy. About this time† the Lords Justices, having got supplies of men and money from England, mustered 6,000 foot and 300 horse, which they appointed to march under the leadership of Ormond to the relief of Athlone, and other

* Aph. Discov. part I. p. 47. † January, 1642, O.S.

places in Connaught, where their garrisons were perishing of famine. This being notified to the supreme council, they asked Preston to take command of the forces they had collected to oppose the project; but he declined the offer, and had his son, Don Diego, recently arrived in Ireland from Flanders, nominated in his place. Meanwhile the castle of Athlone and other strongholds were successfully relieved, owing, it is said, to the treachery of Sir James Dillon, who was all this while on friendly terms with the enemy, and remained in his house, within two miles of Athlone, feigning himself sick.* Having left 4,000 fresh men in the castle of Athlone, Sir Richard Grenville took with him 2,000 foot and 200 horse—most of them invalided—and set out for Dublin. Knowing that this half-famished corps would pass by Rathconnell, Don Diego left a garrison with their colours in the old castle there, and placed some musketeers, here and there, in places of advantage, but leaving points of more concernment open to the enemy.† The marshy nature of the ground, it was hoped, would have given the Irish a decided advantage over the enemy, but in this, Preston deluded himself, for Sir Charles Coote at the head of a brigade of horse, dashed in among them, and compelled them to quit the place in ignominious route, pursued by the enemy's horse for four or five miles. Some hundreds of Don Diego's men were cut to pieces, and those who escaped made their way to Kilbeggan, where Roger O'More, and other confederate officers had their quarters. Among the slain were Captain Brian,‡ Adam Cusack,

* Aph. Discov. part I., p. 51. † Ibid.

‡ "Brian was an Irishman borne, but a new comer from Germany, a Protestant, and in good esteem with the State in Dublin. was commanded with a troop of horse to Dro-

Mac Ross O'Farrell, and many others. Anthony Preston, the general's son, was made prisoner and carried to Dublin by Captain Vaughan who was knighted for having brought intelligence of this signal victory.

Encouraged by this defeat, Ormond and Lord Lisle mustered a large body of troops provided with all appurtenances to take town or fort, and set out for New Ross in the county Wexford, their aim being to take that ancient town, effect a passage into Munster, and join their forces to those of Lord Inchiquin. The commanders marched so cautiously that nothing was heard of them till they reached the neighbourhood of Timolin, in the county Kildare. Terrified by the approach of such a formidable array, many of the gentry and inhabitants of the bordering districts took refuge in the ancient castle* and in the steeple of a ruined church once sacred to St. Mullins, where they imagined they should receive no molestation, as they were unarmed and defenceless. But they deceived themselves, for Ormond bent his heavy guns against castle and steeple and continued to batter same till the in-

gheda. Informed of the grounds of the Irish commotion, thought himself degenerate from a real patriot if he did not adhere (to the Irish), determined to depart, but not able to bring his troop along with him, imparted his intentions to one David Shorne, a German, and his hired servant from that country, upon resolution thereof, escaped, and came to the Irish, where he was reconciled to the Church and appointed a captain of horse, the foresaid David, his lieutenant, promising future good service, this being the very first, where he was killed, he was beheaded by the enemy, and carried to Dublin. David, aforesaid, was now assumed captain in his place."—Aph. Discov. Part I., p. 58. For Sir Henry Piers' account of the Rathconnell fight see Appendix.

* The castle belonged to Wm. Archbold, and had been a nunnery.

mates cried out for parley. Terms agreed on, and quarter given, those in the castle coming out were put to the sword without mercy or observance of any law. Those in the steeple seeing this, would not trust the former capitulation without further security, which being denied, Ormond began his battery afresh against the steeple. The Irish made feeble resistance, killing a few of the soldiers; but a breach having been made in the "withered wall," the assault followed, and men, women and children, including the inhabitants of the village, were massacred on the instant. Thenceforth, it was a common saying not to hope for better quarter at English hands than those of Timolin.*

Having left some troops in Timolin and Rathvilly Ormond and Lisle marched to New-Ross, whose ancient wall they breached after a few days' siege. Captain Arthur Fox, who commanded the place, repulsed the assault, drove the enemy back, reinforced the wall, and made it defensible, three Parliament ships all the while playing on the town. On this occasion, Fox and his fifteen hundred men were efficiently assisted by the women of Ross who, we are told, "in that exigent shewed themselves the best of their sex,"† Foiled in this attempt, Ormond and Lisle resolved to go back to Dublin as speedily as they could, for they had sustained great loss, and the inclement weather was likely to do them greater damage. Having raised the siege, they marched to Ballibeg (in the vicinity of New-Ross), and were there encountered by Lord Mountgarret and General Preston at the head of a well-disci-

* Ormond and Lisle spent three days in Timolin.—
Aph. Discov. Part L, p. 60.

† Built in 1265.

‡ Aph. Discov. Part L, p. 16.

plined and well-armed contingent. Ormond, however, defeated the confederate generals and compelled them to save themselves and the remnant of their army by a speedy retreat to Kilkenny. Among the slain were Sir Morgan Kavanagh, "a brave gentleman, indued with such genuine qualities as compiled his noble extraction, Edward Butler of Tullow, a constant, pious, valorous blade, and several other brave gentlemen, but few of the common soldiers." On his march to Dublin Ormond halted near Borris in the Co. Carlow, and as his men lay asleep in the dead of night two lusty clowns of Murtough Oge Kavanagh of Garankill, stole away their arms and oxen, so that next morning, Ormond and Lisle leaving behind their army and baggage, posted away in all haste to Dublin.*

Among the other more remarkable events of this year† was the defeat sustained by Owen Roe at Clones where he was routed by Sir Robert Stewart. In that disastrous action the Ulster general lost many of his best officers, and he himself, with his son, Henry, narrowly escaped death or captivity. "The poor general with five horse, his son and four more being pursued by the enemy, the former espied after him one only horseman on whom he turned, passing him through with a brace of bullets. Henry, in like manner, turning on a single horseman felled him dead to the ground; five or six did the general and his son kill of the pursuers, till they turned back, and left those poor men wandering in mountains and bogs that night. The Irish lost 140 men of quality, so that it was thought

* Aph. Discov. Part I., p. 63. See in Appendix Creighton's account of Ormond's victory.

† The route of Maney occurred in June, 1643. See Shirley's splendid History of the Co. Monaghan.

Ulster would never recover the loss of that day. Among those made prisoners were Hugh O'Neill,* who continued two whole years in restraint, Captain Arthur O'Neill, grandson to Turlogh MacHenry, two other captains, and three gentlemen of quality. Among the slain were Con Oge O'Neill, murdered after quarter given, Major Maurice O'Hagan, Captain O'Hanlon, and other officers who had seen service in Arras, and elsewhere abroad.

After this defeat O'Neill commanded all the Keraghts† of Ulster to draw by degrees to the borders of Monaghan and Cavan, and there await further orders. He also sent word to the clergy, secular and regular, to desert their habitations, and follow their benefactors, the Keraghts, and serve them in their extremity, as behoveth, which they punctually did. This done, he left his lieutenant, Daniel O'Kahan,‡ to protect the Keraghts, and he himself proceeded to Kilkenny.

* Nephew to Owen Roe O'Neill, and subsequently distinguished for his defence of Clonmel and Limerick:

† The Keraghts, or Creaghts, frequently mentioned in connection with the Irish army of Ulster, consisted of several homeless families who wandered from place to place, with their herds and flocks, maintaining themselves, and contributing to the victualling of the army.—Gilbert's Preface to the Aph. Discov., Part xxxiv.

‡ "O'Kahan was a brave linguist, high and low Dutche, Pollicke (Polish), Swedish, French and Spanish, every one of these in its true font."—Aph. Discov. Part I. p. 52. Poor Daniel was murdered after quarter given, by a Scotchman, who shot him through with a brace of bullets. "How unhumane it was, I leave to the tender consideration of any pagan himself, and the doom of so execrable a fate to the all-seeing Judge. Thus that Hectorean cavalier, Daniel O'Kahan, chief of the noble family, and lieutenant-general of Ulster, was killed against the law of arms, his own nature and fiery, warlike spirit ministering fuel thereto, by whose death they were reduced to a desperate condition."—Aph. Discov. Part I., p. 52.

The confederates meanwhile had signal success in Connaught, for Colonel Burke, who commanded there, wrested the fort of Galway* from Willoughby, and Thomas Burke of Anbally seized Clanricarde's castle of Clare-Galway. That officer was ably assisted by an anonymous Franciscan friar who, doubtless, was well acquainted with the carnal weapon, and might perhaps compete with Guido da Montefeltro,† a member of his own order, who helped Boniface VIII. to the possession of Palestrina. As for the English garrisoning Athlone, dearth of provisions and dysentery so grew apace that most of the soldiers in the former place and elsewhere died by the hundred; the survivors were allowed to depart with bag and baggage, and Sir James Dillon convoyed them to Athboy where they were met by Sir Richard Grenville.‡

Before dismissing this matter we may mention a fact worth remembering. Willoughby being straitened for provisions, offered to deliver the fortress to Clanricarde, and Colonel Burke assented to the proposal, provided the Marquis took the oath of Association. This, however, he refused to do; and the place was made over to the confederate

* In June 1643.

† A.D. 1297. See the story of this famous Cordelier in *canto xxvii.* of "Dante's *Inferno*."

‡ This fact speaks well for the humanity of the confederates who might have taken signal vengeance on the Roundheads for their cruel raids while garrisoning Dillon's county. A convent of poor Clares, called Bethlehem, standing on a creek of Loughreagh, was visited by four score of those ruffians who demolished the house after plundering it, and compelling the nuns to seek safety in a neighbouring island. "Some of the rogues, hitting on the habits, did wear them in a jeering manner, telling their comrades that he was a poor nun."—*Aph. Discov.* Part I., p. 58.

general. Thus, says the historian of Galway, "The confederates had now in their power the second fort of importance in the kingdom."*

In the south of Ireland the confederates achieved some doubtful successes, for General Barry reduced Inchiquin to such straits, that he was obliged to drive all the cattle left in the baronies of Immo-kill and Barrymore within the walls of Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal. In a letter† addressed to Lord Cork, Murrough described his condition as desperate, the provisions promised from England, not having come, and the military chest without a fraction to pay men or officers. Nevertheless, Inchiquin was, with exception of four or five towns, master of the entire province, and he now set about reducing Kilmallock which had declared for the national cause. Alarmed at this state of things, the supreme council, then sitting in Kilkenny, prevailed on Lord Castlehaven to take command of the Munster forces, hitherto acting under General Barry, who was aged and infirm. Castlehaven having received his commission to command in chief, marched hastily to Cashel where he was met by General Barry and Lieutenant-General Purcell, with 700 foot and some troops of horse. His entire force now consisted of about 3,000 men, including a squadron of youths mounted on fleet horses. Having had notice of the approach of the confederates, Inchiquin raised the siege, and marched into the county Kerry, leaving Vavasour with 16 or 1700 horse and foot to take Cloghlea, a strong

* Hardiman's History of Galway, p. 123, who adds that Oranmore Castle, a stronghold belonging to Clanricarde, was taken at the same time (June 1643), for the confederates by the Galwegians.

† Dated May 25th, 1643.

castle of the Condons. Condon, chief of his sept, made a gallant resistance, but had to surrender to the Parliamentary officer who plundered the castle and seized some thirty-eight men, women and children, whom his soldiers stripped, and then wantonly murdered after quarter given. But on the following day speedy vengeance overtook Vavasour, who, while waiting for reinforcements from Mallow,* was set upon by squadrons of Castlehaven's cavalry from the neighbouring hills. Fearing that he should be surrounded, he despatched his guns towards Fermoy, and he himself crossed the Funcheon in hot haste, followed by his forces, Lieutenant King leading the van, Major Howell the main body, and himself the rear. The forlorn hope was commanded by Lacy, Hutton and Stadbury. Their last man had not forded the Funcheon when the confederate cavalry was on the heels of the runaways. The vanguard had ascended the hill that overhangs the river, and was rushing through a narrow defile that leads to Fermoy, when Vavasour ordered a halt, and resolved to dispute the pass; but that troop of mere boys mounted on fleet horses was pressing on the forlorn hope, not after the fashion of regularly disciplined men, but rather like the "Moorish and Getulian horsemen mentioned by Sallust in Jugurtha's war."† In vain did the forlorn-hope strive to resist the impetuosity of their assailants. They were driven in on the main body, which disordered those who still held the pass. In a moment the rout was universal. The confederates pursued the flying columns, and cut them up in detail. All the cannon and colours were taken. Vavasour and his officers were made prisoners,

* 4th June, 1643.

† Borlase's Irish Rebellion.

and 600 of his best soldiers were sabred between the Manning-water and Fermoy. It was a sore blow to Inchiquin, for by this action he was reduced to about 2,500 men, and obliged to shut himself up in garrisons. The confederates soon after prepared to besiege Cappoquin and Lismore, but abandoned the design when it was announced that the supreme council was negotiating a truce with the Marquis of Ormond.* Elated at his success which, to some extent, compensated the loss sustained by general Preston's son at Ballybeg, Castlehaven retired for a while to Kilcash,† the residence of his sister who was married to Richard Butler, brother to Ormond. In this ancient mansion he was complimented by a deputation from the supreme council, then sitting in Ross, where a trumpet brought them a letter from Ormond setting forth that he was appointed by the king to hear the Catholic grievances, and to treat for an accommodation. On hearing this, Castlehaven repaired with Colonel Walter Bagnall, Sir Robert Talbot, and others, to Ross, where they successfully urged the council to return an answer to Ormond's letter, giving him to understand that they had issued summons for a general assembly in order to acknowledge the king's favour in naming him commissioner to hear and redress the intolerable hardships of his majesty's Irish Catholic subjects. Ormond being thus brought to a treaty, the confederate commissioners agreed to meet him in Strafford's unfinished mansion at Jigginstown,

* Pierce Lacy, Captain Butler, Lieutenants Walter St. Leger, Stadbury, with several other brave officers fell in this engagement, and 300 soldiers. The Earl of Castlehaven gave out that he had slain 600 English.—Smith's Cork, vol. ii.

† Castlehaven died there in 1684.

in order to a cessation of arms. Meanwhile, Castlehaven and Preston were commanded by the council to reduce several of the enemy's garrisons in the county Kildare, between the Barrow and the Liffey, among others, the castles of Tullogh, Dullarstown, and Lacagh, where Charles Coote was governor. These strongholds, after some resistance, surrendered to the confederates, who mercifully allowed the garrisons to march away with bag and baggage. After reducing Ballinunry, Castlehaven marched to Ballilinan in the Queen's County, where there was a strong garrison "kept by the Greames, English and Scottish mongrels, the best horsemen in those parts. Refusing to yield, their castle was battered, no quarter granted, but came out under my lord's mercy, which was freely obtained, with their lives and arms."* Having achieved these advantages, Castlehaven led his army to the Curragh of Kildare, whence he summoned several other castles, those of Kildare, Walterstown, and Rathbride, each of which yielded upon quarter of their lives and arms. Among other prisoners made by Castlehaven was Charles Coote who, it appears, was captured while scouting; "being carried before my lord, he made very much of him, and next morning dismissed him to the surrendered castle (Lackkagh); nor would he—the earl—leave the place in the rightful owner's hands (who was Morgine Fitzgerald, relict of Kedagh Geoghegan), unless she pay him £100 in money, and 200 barrels of wheat. This sum, however, the earl abated, and the lady with much ado got possession of her own castle. All this was in consequence of her late husband's surname, he being one of

* Aph. Discov. Part I., p. 69.

the ancient Irish whom he (Castlehaven) abhors, as the devil, the cross."* Thus, in the course of a few months the confederates prosecuted the war in Leinster with signal success, taking there almost every place of strength which had been garrisoned by the Lords Justices, who now were apprehensive of being shut up in Dublin, and starved. Owen Roe, whom we left in Kilkenny, had in the meantime returned to his own province to recruit his army after the death of his lieutenant-general, O'Kahan. The Keraghts, according to his orders, gathered about him, and so did the clergy. The vacancy caused by the death of O'Kahan was now filled by his own nephew, Con MacCormack O'Neill, and Shean O'Kahan he raised to the rank of Major. It was at this period that the Ulster general had a very singular escape, the particulars of which have been recorded by Henry MacTully O'Neill, who served under him. Munroe, at the head of a strong force, marched covertly by night to Armagh, no one knowing anything of his advance till discovered by the general himself, who was hunting within four miles of his head-quarters, at Anagh-Saury, *Anglice* Shamrock-Ford. Chased by Munroe, and having only four hundred men at his command, Owen turned on his pursuers, and after a full hour's dispute in a lane leading to Charlemont, enclosed with quicksets, brought off himself and his party, without loss of a man. In this encounter Munroe was unhorsed, his Major, Ballantine, killed; and he himself, seeing his troopers retreat, cried out, "Fie, fie, run awa' frae a wheen rebels!" That night he took up all the strong passes leading from Charlemont, intend-

* Aph. Discov.

ing to prey the whole country next morning ; but being surprised by Colonel Sanford, who slew a hundred of his men, he withdrew rapidly to his own quarters after burning the house of an Englishman where Owen used occasionally to lodge. After this providential escape O'Neill returned for a few days to Charlemont where, after taking counsel with his trusty advisers, he resolved to march into Leinster and quarter his army upon the enemy. Having made up a force of about 3,000, which he reviewed on the hill of Bruce, he continued his march, taking among other strong places Clonbrenney castle, and Ballybeg, whose garrisons he mercifully allowed to go whithersoever they pleased without let or molestation. Having sent his Keraghts and magazines before him to Portlester* in Meath, he himself speedily followed them to that place, and there established an entrenched camp. The rich plains of Meath contrasted strongly with O'Neill's northern quarters where there was no tillage, and where, owing to that fact, and the presence of Munroe's forces, he could not subsist. Meanwhile the supreme council and Lord Ormond were in treaty for a cessation of arms for twelve months, and had issued orders to all commanders to cease acts of hostility. Regardless of this, Lord

* Portlester, or *recte* Fortlester, now called Earls' mill, and in O'Neill's Journal, the Red Rail's-mill, is situated $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Trim at the angle formed by the junction of the road leading from Delvin to Kildalkey, from which village it is distant $\frac{1}{4}$ mile. The brook which turned the mill, and on the banks of which the battle was fought, falls into the Stoneyford river at Earl's bridge $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of the mill. O'Neill's camp, traces of which remain, lies in a wood $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N. W. of the mill, and is called to this day the "Battery." Portlester castle, now demolished, was the mansion of Sir Rowland FitzEustace, who was created by patent, 5th

Moore of Mellifont,* made up a considerable force, and thought to entrap O'Neill between himself and Munroe; for he had set his heart on the destruction of the Ulster general and his people. Moore therefore marched rapidly with his following of English, Irish, and Scotch on Portlester, from which the Irish had retired to the camp. Near the latter was a ruined mill at the descent of a ford where Moore was obliged to pass on his way to the camp. Both armies stood on either side of the brook, and O'Neill manned the mill with sixty musketeers and some pikemen, the ford being defended with horse and foot. The parliamentaries beaten from the ford, returned again with double force to the very mill walls, and came so close that they snatched the muskets out through the loop-holes from the defenders' hands. Some pikemen issuing from the mill fell upon the enemy's horse, and behaved themselves so well that those "who were not tumbled presently" were very glad to ride off with their lives. "O'Neill," says the authority from whom this description of the fight is taken, "sent a relief to the mill, but those that were there, took it to heart as done in disparagement of them, would not admit them, and assured the general that they would either hold the place, or lose their lives. Some of the Irish observing thirty of Moore's horse coming unawares upon as many of O'Neill's, thirty pikemen, casting off their clothes, except their shirts, went against the said thirty horse in an open

March, 1462, Lord Baron Portlester. He died in 1496, and was buried in the church of the Franciscans, at Kilcullen, which he and his wife had founded.

* Charles, second Viscount, whose grandfather, Sir Gerrott Moore, fostered Sheane O'Neill, son of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone—See "Flight of the Earls."

plain field, thirty musketeers following. Some of the horse never left that field with their lives, and those who survived, got off as best they could. Now, the general, not well pleased with his gunner, for he perceived that he shot too high, took a perspective glass, and saw where lord Moore stood. O'Neill levelled the gun, gave fire, and his aim was so near home that he hit him beneath the ribs, whereupon all dismembered, presently fell dead, the trunk of his body falling down,* and some of his members whistling in the air to take possession by flight in some other field, or made such speed to accompany his soul to hell. About the old mill, 155 men were killed, and very many about the ford, and in the field where lord Moore was killed. After the fight, the general sent for those who defended the mill, and gave every soldier twenty shillings, to the lieutenant who commanded there four pounds, and to an ensign, forty shillings."†

To the foregoing account of the Portlester battle we may add Tully O'Neill's which is equally interesting. "The general hearing that Moore, with his army, was marching from Athboy, ordered the guns to be removed to the camp, and to plant them at the ford over which himself passed with a squadron of horse, till he came to an old mill-head, a good distance from the ford, the enemy's

* Clogy, biographer of bishop Bedell, and chaplain to lord Moore says, that the latter was slain by a six-pound bullet which beat him from his horse, and struck off the back part of his armour. "I saw it taken out of his body, being much spent by grazing ere it struck. We buried his bowels in that place, and next day marched off with his body to Mellifont."—Mem. of Bishop Bedell, pp. 176, 177.

† Aph. Discov. Part I.

side, where he ordered a captain of the Magenniss's with sixty men to be placed, and some pioneers to throw up some breast work about the mill door, himself marching to the top of a hill over the mill to view the enemy who were marching up the other side of the hill in battle array. The general then retired leisurely, and in the rear maintained a handsome play with the enemy's advanced guard close to the mill, where they were received with a warm salutation by the party in the mill, and some dragoons lining a ditch near it, who were all cut off to six men. The sixty men in the mill bore the brunt of the whole day's action by opposing frequent attacks, one great shot often clearing both sides of the mill effectually. Owen O'Doherty brought the mill a supply of ammunition, for which service he next day, was made major to Henry O'Neill's regiment of horse. On both sides the main ford parties were disputing private passes without great loss at either side, except Lord Moore himself who was taken out of his saddle by the middle by one of the balls which was shot at a body of horse drawn up on a height over the mill. The Irish knew nothing of the loss till a deserter next morning assured them both of that, and of the enemy having withdrawn in the night to Athboy.*

* In August 1878 the editor of this book visited the scene of O'Neill's victory and found some portions of the mill in good preservation and the loop-holes from which the muskets were wrested by Lord Moore's men, probably just as O'Neill's people had left them. The battle was fought on the 11th September, 1643, and Lord Moore's death suggested the following couplet, the author of which, it may be presumed, was some priest in the suite of Owen Roe :—

“*Contra Romanos mores, res mira, dynasta
Morus, ab Eugenio, canonizatus erat.*”

The ancient rites of Rome no more are prized,
Since Moore by Owen Roe was canonized.

Three or four days after O'Neill's victory, Castlehaven arrived in the camp at Portlester, and had the cessation of arms proclaimed, upon which the Ulstermen withdrew to the North, each man to his own home. As for O'Neill, he returned to his quarters at Anagh Saury, the English settled in Down and Antrim, (Sir John Clotworthy and the Presbyterians excepted), submitting to the cessation, which Munroe would not accept because the council in Scotland had given him no instructions thereanent.

Now, as to the cessation, or truce, it may be well to premise that King Charles, after having encountered severe reverses, and retired to Oxford, turned his attention to the Remonstrance sent to him by the Supreme Council, soon after their first general assembly. He looked to the future, and reckoned on large assistance from the Irish Catholics in case he succeeded in making terms with their leaders. Affecting to believe that their demands were moderate, and that the representations they had submitted to him were well grounded, he issued a commission, under the Great Seal,* directed to Ormond, the Earls of Clanricarde, Roscommon, and others, authorising any three or more of them to meet and act for the purpose aforesaid—namely, to receive in writing what the petitioners had to propound. This document reached Ormond on the 30th of the month, and, on submitting it to the Lords Justices, they looked on it as a step towards the pacification of Ireland and their own undoing. In a word, they were indignant that a wish should be manifested by any one “that the war, from which they promised themselves ample fortunes, should in any

* 11th January, 1642.

way be ended than with blood and confiscations." They, therefore, hit upon a device that they thought would promote their wicked intents. The Supreme Council were in New Ross, when a trumpet was despatched to apprise them of the King's message, with a safe-conduct from Ormond and Parsons to such as the Council might empower to represent their grievances to the above-named Commissioners. On perusing the safe-conduct, the Supreme Council were amazed at the following passage:—"That although his Majesty could not admit to his presence any of them who were actors or abettors of such an odious rebellion, they might nevertheless regard themselves as highly favoured in being allowed to treat with his Lords Justices." The answer to this insult well beseeemed the Council—"We take God to witness that there are no limits set to the scorn and infamy that are cast upon us, and we will be in the esteem of loyal subjects, or die to a man." This reply was soon made known to the people, who applauded the courage of the Council. On maturer consideration, however, the latter concluded that the dishonouring epithet did not come from the King, but from his enemies, and they, therefore, named the 18th of March for a conference, to be held at Trim. On hearing this the Lords Justices got the consent of their Privy Council to an act which they flattered themselves would put an end to anything like a treaty. At the battle of Rathconnel, Lisagh O'Connor, Gerald Aylmer, and some others of note, were made prisoners, and held in restraint; and in order to exasperate the Catholics, Parsens and his colleague wrote to Sir Henry Tichbourne to have them executed by martial law. But as those gentlemen had been taken after quarter given, Tichbourne would

not obey such an infamous order. The Lords Justices' expedient signally failed, for, on the appointed day, Clanricarde and Roscommon, the King's Commissioners, met the Confederate Commissioners at Trim, and there produced a remonstrance of grievances, which was duly received by his Majesty's Commissioners, who transmitted it to the royal head-quarters. In reply to this, King Charles wrote to the Lords Justices that he had empowered the Marquis of Ormond to treat with his Irish subjects, and to agree with them in a cessation of arms for one year, and that they (the Justices) should not fail to give effectual assistance in carrying out his instructions. Some short time after this order, Sir Francis Butler arrived in Dublin with a supersedeas for Sir William Parsons'* Government, because he had proved himself an energetic opposer of the cessation, and with a commission to Sir John Borlase and Sir Henry Tichbourne to be Lords Justices, who accordingly were instituted in the Government.† But it was not till a second order had come from the King that the Lords Justices appointed Ormond to meet the Confederate Commissioners at Castle-Martin, on the 23rd of June. In fact, Ormond was in no hurry to agree to a cessation of arms, and on the day before that in which he set out for Castle-Martin he caused the leading citizens of Dublin to be summoned before the Council Board, and there delivered to them a motion, penned by his own

* On 12th May Major Warren and Sir Francis Butler presented a petition to the Lords of the Privy Council, then sitting in Dublin Castle, accusing Sir W. Parsons of high misdemeanours, and praying that his person and goods might be secured. Parsons died in London in 1649.

† May 1st, 1643.

hand, that "if 10,000 pounds were raised, one half in money, the other in victuals, and brought in within a fortnight, he would prosecute the war, and break off the treaty for cessation. But the poverty of the Dubliners would not allow them to contribute the aforesaid sum, and, seeing this, Tichbourne moved the Board—one-and-twenty counsellors being present—that each one for himself should advance 300 pounds, which among them all, would amount to 6,300 pounds, for even with that he (Ormond) offered to quash all mention of a cessation. But as Sir Henry's motion was not carried, the cessation began to be treated,* and "was as much hindered and delayed by me as was in my power." Strange conduct this in two personages who professed themselves zealous ministers of the unfortunate king! On the 23rd of June the Confederate Commissioners presented themselves to Ormond in his tent near Castle-Martin, where he was attended by sundry high officers of his Majesty's army, his Lordship sitting covered and the Irish Commissioners standing bare-headed. After due formalities, the spokesman of the Confederate Commissioners handed Ormond a copy of the authority they had received from the Supreme Council, sitting in Kilkenny, on the 20th day of May, 1643. This document† set forth that the Confederates had taken arms for the preservation of their religion, for the defence of the royal rights and privileges, and for the liberties of their country, and concluded by stating that the Supreme Council

* History of the Siege of Drogheda.

† Dated Kilkenny, June 23, 1643, and subscribed by Mountgarret, Castlehaven, O'Queely, Archb. of Tuam, Fleming, Archb. of Dublin; Fermoy, Netterville, Edmond Fitzmorris, Robert Lynch, P. Darcy, Richard Belling.

had empowered, among others, Lords Gormanstown, Muskerry, Turlough O'Neill, &c., &c., to treat with Lord Ormond of a cessation of arms for one year, or shorter, and to conclude same upon such terms and conditions as to the said Commissioners shall be thought fit and expedient.

A disagreement arising on two important subjects which the Confederate Commissioners were to insist upon—the dissolution of the actual Irish Parliament, and liberty to use hostilities against all who would appear in arms against either of the contracting parties—caused the treaty to be adjourned to the following month, Ormond having peremptorily refused to entertain either of the aforesaid points.* Meanwhile a very subordinate event had well nigh marred all hope of a cessation. A Captain Farrer had been made prisoner by the Confederates, while a Captain Synnott was prisoner in Dublin Castle. The Lords Justices, wishing to have their man exchanged for the Confederate soldier, addressed the following note to the Supreme Council:—"We, the Lords Justices, do declare that if Captain Farrer be released by the *rebels*, we will order the releasing of Synnott, lately a captain among the rebels, the jailer's dues being first paid." To this insolent document the Supreme Council replied:—"We do not know to whom this certificate is directed, neither shall it be safe

* Among other reasons for insisting on a dissolution of the Irish Parliament, was its having enacted that none should sit in either house till they had taken the oath of supremacy: forty-six members having been expelled, and their places supplied by clerks, soldiers, serving-men, and others, not legally elected. The second point was suggested by a suspicion that the Scottish forces in Ulster, that had taken the covenant and were paid by the rebel Parliament of England, would not accept the cessation.

hereafter for any messenger to bring any paper to us containing other language than suits our duty and the affections we bear to his Majesty's service, wherein some may pretend, but none shall have more real desires to further his Majesty's interests than his Majesty's loyal subjects, Mountgarret, Muskerry." Some short time after this correspondence, Sir W. Parsons, Adam Loftus, Sir John Temple, and others, were arrested, and being charged with having acted traitorously, were imprisoned in Dublin Castle, from which they were speedily released, with the connivance of my Lord Ormond, and at the instance of their sympathisers in the English rebel Parliament.

At last, after receipt of a fifth letter* from the King, insisting on the immediate conclusion of the cessation—the only visible means by which he could be supplied with additional forces, which he needed so much—Ormond agreed to meet the Confederate Commissioners on the 15th of September at Jigginstown, in Strafford's half-built mansion, since known as "Black Tom's Folly." There, on the appointed day, Lord Muskerry, Dillon, Plunket, Talbot, Barnwell, and others, delegated by the Supreme Council, met Lord Ormond and the Irish Commissioners, and signed the cessation, which being confirmed by the Lords Justices and Council, was notified by proclamation to the whole kingdom.†

ABBREVIATE OF THE TREATY.

"It is agreed that the Roman Catholics now in

* Dated September 7, 1643.

† Before leaving Jigginstown, the Confederate Commissioners discovered that Ormond had no notion of calling a new parliament, although he admitted that the one then sitting was irregular and illegal.

arms at any time during the cessation, may send to his Majesty such agents as they shall think fit, and that the said agents shall have a free conduct from the chief governors of this kingdom. That the quarters in the province of Connaught be the county Galway, the county town of Galway, the counties of Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, and Leitrim, now in possession of the Roman Catholics, shall, during the said cessation, remain in their possession. That the quarters of the province of Leinster be the county of Dublin, the county of the city of Dublin, the county of the city of Drogheda, and the county Louth, shall remain in possession of his Majesty's Protestant subjects. That the county Tipperary, the county Limerick, the county Kerry, the county Waterford, and the county Clare, shall be in possession of the Roman Catholics, except Knockmorne, Ardmore, Pilltown, Cappoquin, Stroncall, Lismore, and Lisfinny. The quarters in Ulster are to be as followeth, viz. :—That such counties, baronies, tenements, hereditaments as are now possessed by any of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, or any that adhere to them, and all places protected by any commanders deriving authority from the king, shall be in their possession, excepting such lands and castles as are now in possession of the Roman Catholics." The other articles regard traffic, free intercourse between England and Ireland, and rules to be observed in exchanging prisoners.

Such was the cessation, one of whose articles proves that the Confederates had then in their possession some of the most important towns in Ireland, and for this the Supreme Council advanced to the king £15,000 in money, and provisions to the value of £15,000 more as a thank-offering!

The majority of the old Irish, bishops, priests, and laymen, condemned the truce; and the old Earl of Cork, on perusing its provisions, which he regarded as tending to the benefit of popery, took to his bed, and died of sheer spleen. Lords Broghill and Inchiquin were opposed to it; and the latter, seeing it concluded despite his remonstrance, went to England, and made an offer of his services to the king, who set little value on his professions of loyalty. And in this instance his Majesty was perfectly right, for as soon as Murrough learnt that the presidency of Munster was about to be bestowed on the Earl of Portland, he returned to Ireland, confirmed in his hatred of the double-dealing monarch. But Ormond had gained all he could have desired. His diplomacy awakened jealousies and rancorous feelings among the Confederates; and as for the Ulster Catholics, they had no benefit by the cessation, which gave Munroe and his following title to all the lands they then possessed, leaving no hope of restoration to the representatives of the old Irish who had been disinherited by the confiscations of James the First. Let us add that, before the conclusion of the truce, the Confederate cruisers* intercepted all supplies destined for Dublin—so much so, that upon search being made in the city and suburbs, fourteen days' provision could not be found for burgesses and sol

* "The Puritans in Dublin did swear that if the Irish did hold out for one month more, all the parliamentaries would have deserted Leinster. Of 10,000 men sent from England there lived only at the time of the cessation 500 in all Ireland. The enemy had no commander of any repute but Ormond, Tichbourne, Hume, and Monk, while the Irish had O'Neill's victorious army, after the death of Lord Moore, raiging at pleasure in the counties of Meath and Dublin, and Castlehaven taking the garrisons whereunto he

diers. But now that the ports were open, Ormond begun to gather supplies of corn and other commodities, which restored to him the confidence of the soldiers and citizens, and enabled him to meet any section of the Confederate army that might be induced to violate the treaty. His success in this matter, we are told, caused his sycophants to flock to Dublin, "the ways being full of beefs, muttons, hogs, turkeys, and all kind of kitchen stuff—gratuities and gifts of anything that abounded going to him and his lady!" Nor should it be forgotten that from the commencement of the "commotions" the Supreme Council permitted all his rents and revenues to be sent to him, though all his lands were in the Irish quarters.

At this period the Scotch forces, "recent and veterate," in Ulster, amounted to 20,000 men, commanded by Major Munroe,* who maintained intimate correspondence with the English Parliament, and held himself entirely at their disposal. About the beginning of November, Owen O'Connolly†—he who betrayed Lord Maguire

marched, the enemy not daring to relieve any for fear of the Ulster army. All the Irish got by this bargain was the release of a few prisoners—Colonel Cullin, Colonel Antonio Preston, and Daniel Oge Kavanagh."—Aph. Discov., part I., p. 79.

* "A soldier of fortune; by birth a Scotsman, but descended of the O'Cahans of the North; an old beaten soldier, trained in Germany and the wars of Gustavus Adolphus; gathered a considerable army of mercenary forces; surprised Carrickfergus (1641), and made himself master of Antrim and Down. The English and Scotch of the North came to him as to an oracle, made him chief commander independent of either king or parliament, but received all his orders from the Covenanters of Scotland."—Aph. Discov., part I., p. 25.

† Owen O'Connolly got from the English Parliament, for the betrayal of Lord Maguire and Hugh MacMahon, £500,

and MacMahon in 1641—was despatched by the Parliament to the Scottish commanders in Ulster, “to prepare them for taking the solemn oath and covenant,” and, a short time after his arrival, Munroe, on bended knees, in the kirk of Carrickfergus, subscribed that bond of confederacy.* The Parliamentarians rewarded his compliance with a goodly supply of money, arms, and provisions, and charged him to pursue with fire and sword all who would observe the cessation.

In or about the same time Lord Antrim† returned from England (whither he had gone after his second escape from Carrickfergus) to Kilkenny, and there took the oath of association. He was a zealot in the royal cause, and ambitioned some distinguished place among the Confederates. The King honoured him with his friendship, made him a marquess, and, as he was a fervent Catholic, the Supreme Council thought him worthy of their patronage—so much so, that when he proposed to raise 3,000 men to assist the gallant Montrose in Scotland, they agreed to give him 2,000 muskets, 2,400 pounds of powder, and 200 barrels of oatmeal, which were to be shipped to Scotland by Archer, a Kilkenny merchant.

In closing this chapter, we may observe that, among the other evil consequences of the cessation, was the departure from the Irish shores of most of

and £200 per annum. He was killed in 1649 by a Mr. Hamilton, whose brother he had murdered. In 1662, £200 a year was secured out of the confiscated lands of Catholics for the support of his orphans, Arthur and Martha O’Connolly.

* Reid’s Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

† In 1641, Munroe, hearing that Antrim was in Dunluce, went there with a party of horse and foot: was admitted, seized the Earl, plundered the house, left a garrison there,

the vessels chartered by the Supreme Council, so that the sea-board, hitherto vigilantly guarded for the benefit of the Irish, now swarmed with parliamentary cruisers, whose commanders showed no mercy to the Catholics who fell into their hands.*

In short, the cessation was advantageous to the King and to Ormond, but it found no advocates among the old Irish, clerical and lay, who looked upon Ormond as a bitter enemy to their country and religion.

CHAPTER IV.

TOWARDS the close of July, 1643, Father Scarampo, a native of Piedmont, and priest of the Congregation of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, landed in the harbour of Wexford, where he was hospitably welcomed by the leading burgesses of that old Catholic town, and its bishop, Nicholas French. Scarampo was sent by Urban VIII., at the instance of Father Wadding, as envoy or pro-Nunzio to the Confederates, and he brought with him a Bull, in which the Pontiff poet lauded the zeal and energy with which the Irish Catholics—Owen Roe O'Neill especially—had fought for the

and carried him to Carrickfergus, where he was close prisoner till his sister, Lady Rose MacDonnell, helped to effect his escape. Antrim's mother was sister of Hugh O'Neill.—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 32.

* About this time (1643) one Swanley, commanding for the Parliament, captured a vessel, having on board 150 men, bound for Bristol, seventy of whom, besides two women, he threw overboard. A short time afterwards, an Irish ship boarded a vessel coming from Scotland, with 50 ministers, deputed to preach and administer the covenant in Ulster, and instead of retaliating, made them prisoners.

emancipation of their religion, king, and country. Nor did the Holy Father restrict his liberality to such spiritual weapons as a Jubilee, Pontifical Blessing, and Indulgences to all who were in arms for the Faith, for along with the Bull, he transmitted a goodly supply of bullets, powder, firelocks, with match proportionable, pikes, swords, and jacks, from the forges of Milan, and other requisites much needed at that time by the Confederates, and for which they were truly grateful. And in order that they might be the better enabled to turn the Pontiff's generosity to good account, Father Wadding entrusted to Scarampo 30,000 Roman crowns, which, like a true friar, he quested from the Spada, Barberini, Panfili, and other noble houses of Rome. Having seen the Pontifical gifts safely landed and forwarded to Kilkenny, Scarampo, after a brief sojourn in Wexford, proceeded to the former city, arriving there while the Council was actively discussing the cessation of arms. The Oratorian was an observant man, and soon perceived that divisions and dissensions were rife in the Council, the acrimony evinced by the contending parties clearly proving that the oath of association was their "only essential tie." With the keen perception of an Italian diplomatist, he saw, at a glance, that the Irish of the Pale were tired of the war—that they had been drawn into the Confederacy by force of circumstances, and were now bent on making terms with Ormond : whereas the old Irish, influenced by some of the most distinguished of their bishops and priests, were bent on carrying on the war, and inflexibly opposed to any truce or treaty that did not secure to them freedom of conscience, and the public exercise of

religion in all its splendour. Naturally enough, Scarampo* advocated by his counsels the resolution of the majority of the bishops and subordinate clergy, and in his capacity of envoy from the Vatican, exhorted the assembly, in the name of the Pontiff, to not recede an inch from their vantage-ground, but to prosecute the war, and insist on such terms as a weak and beleaguered monarch dare not withhold. An earnest man was this Oratorian, and every way entitled to respect—a man of principle, who, seeing that the Confederates had within themselves ample material resources to ensure final success, would not suffer them to stoop to an ignoble compromise, or to forget that they had bound themselves by solemn oath to bring about the triumph of the Catholic religion, or perish in the endeavour.

Delighting in the study of genealogy, and attaching due importance to high lineage, the envoy was not slow in making himself acquainted with

* This distinguished priest, who was destined to be Gamaliel to young Plunket, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, is described by the author of the *Aph. Discov.* thus:—"In the time of the assembly, arrived an agent from the Court of Rome called Scarampo. 'Twas thought he was a Nunzio, or legate, but was not, but rather a precursor sent before the Nunzio. He was a very understanding man. In a short time he became so learned in the pedigrees of the Irish families, that it proved his wit and diligence. He knew all the proceedings of recent and ancient Irish, that to an inch who worst who best behaved himself, in the whole kingdom. He caused some of his men, and specially a doctor of physio, to learn both English and Irish, that, with the familiarity thereof, he might the better pry into their several actions." "Father Scarampo," says the Bishop of Ossory, who has taken up the pen of his illustrious predecessors, Rothe and De Burgo, "died of the plague that visited Rome in 1656."—(See "Life of Plunket." Dublin: J. Duffy and Sons.)

the antecedents of those members of the Supreme Council who had been most energetic in concluding the truce. Some of them indeed bore historic names that commanded his respect, but among them were others whom he rightly regarded as unworthy of esteem. Then, again, each and all of them were sycophants of Ormond; in a word, Ormond's faction. Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, lord president of the Supreme Council, was Ormond's grand-uncle; Darcy, a distinguished lawyer, was my lord's legal adviser, and Clanricarde's creature. Richard Belling* married Mountgarret's daughter; Donough MacCarthy,† Viscount Muskerry, was married to Ormond's

* Sir Richard Belling, secretary to the Supreme Council, was son of Sir Henry Belling, provost-marshal in the reign of James I. Carte, in his Hist. of Ormond, says that Sir Henry never stuck at any practice, however execrable, to carry his point. "'Tis incredible," he continues, "how many he (Belling) and Graham detained in prison for weeks and months, soliciting them all the while with promises of reward and threats of death itself, to accuse the gentlemen whose inheritance they wanted to seize. Sir Henry, Sir W. Parsons, and the apostate Lord Esmond, persecuted the O'Byrnes of Wicklow most unmercifully, and contrived to get possession of their property, after having tortured some members of that once great family in the most inhuman fashion. Sir Richard Belling was a distinguished scholar and schemer, who at the beginning of the war was not worth sixpence, but contrived to amass considerable sums subsequently. "If," says the author of the Aph. Discov., "you were acquainted with this man's father, a perjured informer who sucked the blood of thousands of innocents in Ireland, you should not marvel how impious soever this his brood be. What would you expect at the hands of a child of such a father other than tricks, perjury, craft, and treachery?"

† Donough MacCarthy, created Earl of Clancarty, 1658, died at Moor-Park, Co. Tipperary. By his will, dated July 25, 1655, he leaves to his wife, Lord Ormond's sister, "for a jointure during her life, his manor-house of Blarney."

sister ; Gerald Fennell, was Ormond's medical adviser, his predecessors having been hereditary physicians to the Butlers ever since they settled in Ireland. One George Comin, a farmer and servant to Ormond ; Nicholas Plunket, a lawyer ; Heber MacMahon, bishop of Down, and afterwards of Clogher ; Turlough O'Neill, and two more from Connaught, Supreme Counsellors—three from each province—the first six totally for Ormond, and, although sworn to the Confederacy, "will do nothing without passing through the channels of his pleasure."*

When news of the cessation reached Oxford, the king determined to appoint Ormond lord-lieutenant of Ireland ; but, on account of the tempestuous state of the weather, and the difficulty in adjusting the form of procuring the Earl of Leicester's resignation, the commission was not issued till the middle of January, 1643. On the 21st of that month he was sworn in with all proper forms and ceremonies in the old desecrated cathedral of the Holy Trinity.

Ormond's elevation to the viceroyalty was calculated to raise the hopes of that section of the confederates who placed all confidence in him, and naturally gave him a fairer opportunity of deluding them. The "old Irish," on the other hand, did not reckon on any advantage to be derived from his administration, and deplored the conclusion of

Donough, fourth Earl of Clancarty, adhered to James II., and thus forfeited his vast estates. He had two sons, Robert and Justin. Robert, styled Earl of Clancarty, was a captain in the royal navy, and commanded the Adventurer man-of-war, but deserted to the French. He died in 1770, aged 84, and left two sons in the French service, who died S. P.

* Aph. Discov., Part I., pp. 39, 40.

the treaty, which was likely to give another direction to the popular mind. Some were of opinion that the truce tended to lower the martial ardour which characterized the people since the rising of 1641; and others, like Father O'Ferrall,* bitterly regretted that the lords and gentry of the Pale had ever been "trusted in so holy a league." That such should have been the sentiments of the "old Irish" is only natural, when we find it admitted, on the authority of Carte, that they had nothing to get by a cessation, and "were only fit to be sent to Scotland to deliver his majesty out of his troubles."† In fact, such was the dislike entertained by them for the entire proceeding, that Monarie, envoy from the French court, and Fosset, from that of Spain, had no difficulty in getting men to embark for the service of their respective sovereigns, while the greatest reluctance prevailed against going to England. The continental courts had strong claims on the affections of the Irish, for even a short time before Ormond's inauguration, his Catholic majesty had forwarded 20,000 dollars which they spent in purchasing arms and ammunition. Their agents, too, were kindly received in the foreign capitals, and were willingly aided by the nobility and gentry, who regarded them as engaged in a crusade. But the lord lieutenant well knew that the treaty itself would furnish ample material for dispute and bloodshed, and he calculated wisely. The question of boundaries, which was not well defined, was of itself shaped to

* He was a Capuchin friar, and wrote a book with the following title—"Modus Eversionis Cath. Religionis in Hibernia." Lynch, the author of "Cambrensis Eversus," published a reply under the name of "Eudoxus Alithinologus." It is quoted by Walsh in the Hist. of the Rem., p. 740.

† Carte's Ormond, i. 477.

engender broils ; but what cared Ormond if the Catholics were broken up and disorganized ? He only looked for the dissolution of that union which was once so formidable, and diplomacy like his was likely to effect it.

It was at this period (March, 1643) that the Supreme Council commissioned Father Edmund O'Dwyer to proceed to Rome, and present to the Pope a memorial, signed and sealed by Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin ; Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel ; Lords Castlehaven, Fermoy, Mountgarret, Netterville, and O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, praying His Holiness to advance Luke Wadding to the College of Cardinals.

The memorial extolled the grand services which the learned Franciscan had rendered to literature and the land of his birth ; but the clause of it most interesting to us is that in which the petitioners describe the then condition of the Irish Catholic Church :—

“It is now manifest to the whole Christian world with what fidelity the Catholics of Ireland have clung to their ancient faith, and how they braved death, and exile, and the confiscation of their estates rather than renounce the religion of their ancestors. To you, most Holy Father, it is well known how heroically the Irish people, without arms or munitions of war, have struggled against the legions of those who, sworn enemies of the Holy See, had vowed to pluck up our religion by the very roots. Our holy war has had a glorious result. The Lord God is now publicly worshipped in our temples, after the manner of our fathers ; most of the cathedrals have been restored to our bishops ; the religious orders possess the monasteries, and seminaries have been opened for the edu

cation of youth. This great work has been accomplished through the goodness of God and the many favours bestowed on us by you; verily, in future times the brightest page in the history of your pontificate shall be, that you found the Catholic religion despised and prostrate in our island, and ere that pontificate closed beheld it raised up in splendour, and magnificently attired, even as a bride for her spouse."*

Meanwhile the Supreme Council held its sittings at Waterford, and a question was raised as to the prudence of pawning that portion of the kingdom then in their possession to some foreign court, in order to raise supplies of money and arms. Owen Roe was summoned to give his opinion, but he repudiated the idea of allowing any foreign power "an interest in Ireland." He then proceeded to Charlemont, where he remained some time with Theobald Magauly, governor of that fort, and finally fixed his head-quarters at Belturbet. Lulled into false security by the cessation, the Supreme Council proceeded to Galway, and some of the other towns, to hear cases touching usurpations of property, and adjudicate on civil concerns which, in the din of arms, could not have been properly attended to.

Having returned to Kilkenny, a very considerable period seems to have been wasted in collecting

* Before O'Dwyer reached Rome Urban VIII. died, and was succeeded by Innocent X., on the 15th September, 1643 (S. V.) The memorial fell into Father Wadding's hands, and instead of allowing it to be presented to His Holiness, the humble friar concealed it. This venerable document, with other priceless MSS., was brought to Dublin in 1872, and is now preserved in the archives of the Franciscan convent of the metropolis.

those supplies which it was their intention to have transmitted to England. It was agreed, however, that the sum of £30,800 should be paid by instalments of money and "beeves;" but it would appear that there was great difficulty in procuring advances of kind and coin. Charges were made almost daily of a violation of the articles of cessation by both parties; and Ormond did not conceal his displeasure at the slowness with which the confederates sent the beeves to Dublin. One of the strangest of the charges advanced against the Supreme Council at this moment was, that they forwarded cattle of very inferior description, and took away 369 head of the choicest English cows and bullocks from the suburbs of Dublin, thus exposing the inhabitants to the very danger from which it was the object of the cessation to protect them. This charge is made upon questionable authority, for it is certain that the confederates had the best intentions, however short-sighted their policy may have been, and nothing could be better calculated to vindicate them from such aspersion than the conduct which Ormond was obliged to adopt regarding the forces which he sent to the king's aid in England. When the cessation was concluded, several regiments, drawn from the garrisons in and about Dublin, got orders to proceed to Chester; but such was the reluctance of the common soldiers, that the sharpest proclamations hardly restrained them from flying their colours both before and after their arrival in England. Indeed, to such a state of insubordination and disaffection had they been brought that Ormond had to administer an oath obliging his levies to remain firm in their allegiance to the king. Not so, however, with such of the Catholics as could cross the sea, and stand by his majesty in his struggle against

the parliament. Their fidelity was only equalled by their valour against overwhelming numbers commanded by Lord Fairfax.

But, as to the cessation, the only towns which can be said to have observed it were Newry, Dundalk, and Drogheda. Munroe was encouraged by the parliament to disregard it; and, if he required any further stimulant, he had already got it in a commission, under the parliament's broad seal, to command in chief all the English as well as Scotch forces at that time in Ulster. On receipt of the commission he commenced a campaign against the Catholics, who religiously obeyed the orders of the Supreme Council, which, on discovering his perfidy, wrote to Ormond that the Covenanters "were diverting them from assisting his majesty, and eating further into the bowels of the country."* This was obviously meant to induce Ormond to declare Munroe and his followers rebels to the crown, but the wily lord lieutenant did not find it his interest to do so.

A subject of the most momentous importance was now mooted by the Supreme Council, regarding propositions to be submitted to the king; and in order to divert their attention from mere matters of war, Ormond encouraged them to send a deputation to Oxford, and lay their case before his majesty. At the very same time a cabal in Dublin was maturing a scheme to counteract any advantage which the Catholics were likely to derive from such an interview. Nevertheless, Muskerry, MacDonnell, Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermid O'Brien, Richard Martin, and Severinus Browne, formed the deputation, which reached Oxford at the beginning of April, when they laid before

* Borlase.

his majesty a statement of grievances, and earnestly prayed for the repeal of all penal restrictions, which not only disqualified them from holding civil offices in the state, but weighed most heavily on their religion and the observances it inculcated.

To all their demands the king gave willing ear, and flattering speeches; but one grand subject, which had been warmly debated by the Council at Waterford, previous to the departure of the deputation, was regarded by his majesty as little less than scandalous. This was an assurance guaranteeing the permanent and secure possession of the churches then in the hands of the Irish Catholics; but, on hearing this, his majesty declared that he would reserve it for his future consideration. An earldom was offered to Muskerry, which he declined, and the commissioners retired from the royal presence with an abundance of promises that were not destined to be realised.

It is hard to imagine any state of greater difficulty than that of the king at this moment; for the confederate commissioners had not left England, when Sir Charles Coote and others, deputed by the Protestants of Ireland, presented a memorial praying, amongst other concessions, that "the king would abate his quit-rents, and encourage and enable Protestants to replant the kingdom, and cause a good walled town to be built in every county for their security, no Papist being allowed to dwell therein." The second demand was not less extravagant. They prayed his majesty "to continue the penal laws, and to dissolve forthwith the assumed power of the confederates, and banish all Popish priests out of Ireland, and that no Popish recusant should be allowed to sit or vote in parliament." The king was amazed at the peremptory man-

ner in which those propositions were urged; and it was conjectured that they were concocted in London, with a view to obstruct any accommodation with the Irish, and in all probability, to induce them to a violation of the truce. But commissioners soon after came from the council in Dublin, at the head of whom was Archbishop Usher, who condemned Coote's extravagance, and requested him to withdraw his revolting demands.

But, though Archbishop Usher inveighed against the demands of those fanatics, the propositions which he submitted to Charles I., were not far removed from the intolerant spirit of those of Coote. On the part of the Irish Protestants, he desired that all the penal laws should be enforced, and all Papists disarmed. The king clearly pointed out the impracticability of such measures, at a moment when the confederate Catholics possessed more than three parts of the kingdom. The queen, too, influenced the royal will on this occasion, and sought to impress on the mind of her consort, that the Catholics were well worthy of his confidence. Indeed, it is more than likely that whatever kindness he had shown the confederate commissioners, was the result of her majesty's interference, and, before we close this brief glance at this portion of our subject, we may sum up in a few words the amount of his good intentions towards the Irish Catholics. He was willing to pass an act for removing from them any incapacity to purchase lands or offices, and had no objection to allowing recusants their seminaries of education. He was content to call a new parliament in Ireland, but, without the suspension of Poyning's law. As to the penal enactments, he stated that those sta-

tutes were too odious to be enforced, and that his recusant subjects, on returning to their duty, should have no reason to complain.

While the king was cajoling the commissioners with those vague promises on which they placed but too much reliance, Munroe was carrying the orders of the parliament into execution, and the general assembly, alarmed by the imposing force of the Covenanters, sent orders to Owen Roe to appear in Kilkenny on the 1st of May, in or about the time that the Scotch general had seized Belfast. O'Neill complained bitterly of the distress of the men under his command, stating that he would be obliged to quarter them on the other provinces; but at the same time he offered to prosecute the war against Munroe, if he was seconded by the Supreme Council, for whom he promised to raise 4,000 foot and 400 horse in his own province. The Council accepted his offer, and agreed to give him 6,000 foot and 600 horse. When the question of command was mooted, it was put to the vote, and Castlehaven was declared by a majority commander-in-chief.* On this momentous occasion Ormond's faction prevailed, and elected the man who, of all others, was least fitted for the work he undertook to perform. Castlehaven was preferred to O'Neill; but in this, as in many other instances, the preferred did not prove himself *the* preferable.

Before commencing the Ulster campaign, Castle

* "I," says Castlehaven, "happened to be chosen, which Owen Roe took extremely to heart, as I have reason to believe. However, he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate me, and wish me good success."—*Mem.* p. 66.

See in Appendix "Laws and Orders of War, established for the conduct of the army designed for the expedition to Ulster."

haven, by order of the Supreme Council, marched into Connaught, where he reduced sundry small garrisons that held out against the cessation, and having accomplished this poor performance, returned to Kilkenny to put all in order for the northern enterprise. At this time O'Neill was encamped at Portlester, and when Castlehaven reached Granard—his first rendezvous—the former sent him word that the Scots under Munroe and Sir Robert Stewart were advancing to meet him. Castlehaven's forces at this moment consisted of 3,000 horse and foot, with two or three field pieces; but the Scots outnumbered him, and were in every respect better equipped. He himself states that they were 17,000 strong, with one-and-twenty days' provision, and not encumbered with baggage or cannon. Unwilling to encounter such odds he packed off and gained Portlester, after leaving Colonel John Butler, Mountgarret's brother, with half a thousand foot and one hundred horse to defend the bridge of Finae,* over which the Scots must pass if they meant to pursue the Irish. Butler, it seems, neglected his duty, and betook him to his "ordinary pastime, carousing;"† so that the Scots came unawares on the Irish, who were posted on the Ulster side of the bridge, and compelled them to retire after losing some thirty or forty of their horsemen.‡

* A bridge of stone, with a castle.—*Castlehaven's Mem.*

† *Aph. Discov.*

‡ Among other prisoners taken in this action was Captain Gerald Fitzgerald, of whom the author of the *Aph. Discov.* tells the following story: "Fitzgerald being disarmed, three horse were left to watch him: examining his pockets, he took out his purse, himself a tall burly man, held it over his head, the troopers contesting who should have it. Seeing that he could not keep them longer in suspense, he

Colonel Butler fled from the scene of action towards Mullingar, and the Scots entering Finae, then a strong place, burnt it and the "brave-house" of Carlanstown, that belonged to Robert Nugent. Not intending to go further into the country or leave garrisons anywhere there, the enemy marched northwards, not through any fear of Castlehaven, but rather dreading O'Neill, though then with a small force compared with the Leinster general's multitude.*

Meanwhile, notwithstanding this evil presage, Castlehaven's preparations went on, quantities of wheat being levied in Westmeath and King's Counties to make munition bread; great ovens builded in Montefernan, Athlone, and Birr; bakers picked out in all the kingdom for this purpose; all the boats and cotts of the several loghs and Inny commanded for the transport of this bread from Montefernan to Costillogh. All tillage was stopped, many a man beggared, and undeserving men bettered by this traffic, Castlehaven's army being still billeted on Westmeath to the prejudice thereof." But all this was done with the connivance of his partizans in the Supreme Council, whose aim was to mortify O'Neill, who did not approve their conduct in matters of war or peace.

Having completed his arrangements, Castlehaven, threw it off as far as he was able; two of the three followed the purse, and the third man stayed with the prisoner. Fitzgerald observing how busy the two keepers were about the purse, and himself left only to one man, having a skeine tied to his very skin, he drew out the same and thrusts his keeper therewith unto the very haft under the lower rib. Leaving keeper and skeine, he swam over the river in spite of the enemy's horse that followed him, and thus this noble captain escaped imprisonment."—Part I., p. 83.

† Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 84.

or, as he was now styled, the Leinster-general, marched into the County Down, and thence into that of Armagh, where he was met by Owen Roe, who kept his camp apart, and allowed his men "to scatter among the keraghts as their safeguard, except 2,000 foot and 300 horse that he kept to wait on himself."* In a conference with Castlehaven, O'Neill advised him to march towards the Blackwater, and follow the enemy as far as Dro-more-Iveagh, where the Scots had a small garrison, their main body being encamped some few miles off. Here, at the ford of the Blackwater,† Castlehaven achieved a partial success, for his horse defeated that of the Scots; but instead of crossing the ford with his entire force and falling on the enemy, as O'Neill advised, he commanded his army to march towards Charlemont.

The enemy meanwhile not finding Castlehaven at the ford, marched after him towards the borders of Monaghan, and pitched his camp within five miles of the Irish, "betwixt them and their sutlers," so that all necessities were stopped, whereby the army in general, and specially the Munster-men, died for mere want.‡

On learning this, O'Neill urged the Leinster-general to raise his camp and come nearer the enemy, assuring him that the latter was not as strong as was thought, and at same time proposing to give him 200 "beefs" and as many more as he might require, provided he followed his advice. But mistrusting O'Neill, and consulting only his own lieutenant-general, Purcell, Castlehaven collected his horse, and galloped away towards the County

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 87.

† Between Benburb and Kinard.

‡ Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 87.

Cavan, leaving his sick to their fortune, or "enemy's mercy."* Halting there for three or four days, he gathered some stragglers, who looked like men that escaped shipwreck, or were terrified with the sight of some extraordinary ghost, or as risen from their graves and going to the universal judgment, such was their fear, their trembling, groans, and sighs.† Such as were able to go in a body went along with him, too many staying behind, either to follow to Kilkenny, or to their homes and graves.‡

Such was the result of Castlehaven's two months' campaign in the north, where he lost one half of his fine army by famine, and the Supreme Council £30,000 which they expended on that expedition. O'Neill never dreaming of this dishonourable flight, commanded his commissariat to go before him towards Monaghan, and he himself, marching after them, fell upon some detachments of the enemy, whom his lieutenants, Henry and Bryan Roe O'Neill, routed with serious loss.

Castlehaven cast the blame of this disaster upon O'Neill, but wrongfully, for he would not be advised by him, but rather followed his own inspirations, which proved the public destruction of the kingdom's affairs. This O'Neill averred in Kilkenny, before the man's face, and in open assembly proved him to be a traitor, and desired redress according to the law of arms. The accusations being examined, Castlehaven was convicted; but he was the favourite of the Council, and they consequently, all his gross blunders notwithstanding, upheld him. Commissioners saw the remnant of his army quartered in various parts of Leinster,

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 87.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

within the Confederate boundaries, and O'Neill, disgusted with the vapourings of the man who had inflicted such loss on the kingdom, set out to rejoin his keraghts and followers in Ulster.*

Scrupulously as the Irish Catholics observed the cessation, it was treated with contempt by Inchiquin and Lord Broghill† in the South; so much so that they forwarded letters to the king, beseeching

* During this campaign O'Neill lay for some time sick, and on recovering was requested by Castlehaven to wait on him in the vicinity of Ballyhaise, where the former had his quarters. The messenger who brought the letter observing by Castlehaven or his officers that they meant to lay the blame of their failure on O'Neill, gave him warning of it, which made the Bishop of Clogher mind him of a strong guard to attend his person. O'Neill replied that he valued them not, and went with his secretary and a few attendants to see Castlehaven, who put it to him how they could excuse themselves for not performing some signal service in the enemy's country. O'Neill replied, "As infirm as I was, my best advice was not wanting to your lordship." "But," said Castlehaven, "my officers are much concerned that yours and yourself have called them cowards." "I must confess," replied O'Neill, "that I did say so to a gentleman here, lieutenant-colonel Fennell, with the feather, a cowardly cock, for seeing my kinsmen overpowered by the enemy, some of them hacked before his face, and a strong brigade of horse under his command, and never offered to relieve them. My lord, we need not discourse any more on this subject till we both appear before the supreme council that employed us both." The officers slain were Captain Charles Hovendon and Con Baccagh O'Neill. Fennell, some years afterwards, either by treachery or cowardice, surrendered Killaloe to Ireton, and with all his party fled into Limerick; where, upon the reduction of that town, Ireton, with more than ordinary justice, hanged him.—*Castlehaven's Memoirs*.—O'Neill's Journal in Desid. Cur. Hib.

† Son of the notorious adventurer, Boyle, first Earl of Cork. Broghill commanded under Cromwell, after whose death he contributed to the restoration of the monarchy.

him to proclaim the Irish "rebels," and stating that they were resolved to die a thousand deaths, rather than condescend to any peace with them.* They also asserted that their quarters, which extended from Youghal to Mogeely, and thence to Cork, had been pillaged by the Catholics, who were intent on prejudicing the royal cause. But while carrying on this correspondence with the king, Inchiquin was doing his utmost to serve the parliament, which approved his conduct, as it did that of Munroe in the north. Adopting the rant of the Puritans, he justified his atrocities by an appeal to his religious instincts, which taught him that "he was acting for the gospel, and that if he died for it, he should be held as a perfect martyr."† Early in August he collected a large body of troops, and expelled all the Catholic inhabitants out of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale.‡ The parliament applauded the act, gave him promise of supplies, and hinted that he might be appointed to the presidency of Munster. It was idle to think that the plundered and persecuted inhabitants would not resent those cruelties; and yet such was the anxiety of the Supreme Council for the inviolate observance of the cessation, that they ordered Lieutenant-general Purcell to punish with a high hand the slightest breach of it. Ormond was importuned by the confederates to enforce the obedience of Munroe and Inchiquin; but he was secretly encouraging the conduct of those rebels, and rejoiced at every misery which befel the Catholics.

* Borlase.

† Inchiquin's letter to the parliament, in Borlase.

‡ "Allowing them to take no more of their goods with them than what they could carry on their backs."—*Carte's Ormond*.

And yet in the midst of those multiplied troubles, the confederates were not unmindful of the promises which they had made to aid the king. It is true that the impoverished state of the country would not allow them to raise such an enormous sum as they were willing to advance; but yet they sedulously endeavoured to forward as much as they could through the agency of Ormond. Nay more, such was their zeal for the royal cause that they raised 2,500 men, whom Lord Antrim embarked at Waterford, and other ports, to assist the gallant Montrose. This brave contingent was commanded by Alexander M'Donnell, alias Col-kitto. Arrived in Scotland, within Argyle's bounds, they marched to Castleblair, in Athol, where they were joined by Montrose, who went on foot with target and pike. Reinforced by the bowmen under Lord Kilpunt, they encountered the Covenanters, who had an army of 8,000 foot and 800 horse, at St. Johnstown. The Covenanters* were three or four to one, but the Irish routed them with such slaughter that men might have walked upon dead bodies to the town, being two miles long from the place where the battle was pitched. A few days after this first victory they defeated 3,000 foot and 500 horse, with three pieces of cannon, at Aberdeen. They then marched to Glengarry and Inverloughy Castle, which they stormed, routing Argyle and Aghenbracke, and taking their standards, arms, and ammunition.†

* One's hand must tremble in transcribing the battle-cry of those fanatics: "Jesus, and no quarter," was the shibboleth of the Covenanters in this engagement with Montrose.—*Grainger Biograph.*, vol. ii., p. 245.

† "In Flanders, some good Catholics bought for Antrim's

Such signal valour made due impression on the king, who did not fail to commend it in his despatches to Ormond. Indeed, he could have had no more convincing reason for impressing on the mind of his lieutenant-general the necessity of a speedy accommodation with his Irish Catholic subjects; and it is likely that his desire for concluding a peace with them originated in the consideration of the effectual services of the men who humbled the stern Covenanters on their own soil. In closing this rapid view of the events of this year, it is necessary to observe that Urban VIII., who had so cordially befriended the confederates, died in July, 1644, and was succeeded by Innocent X. on the 15th of September of same year.

The time for the expiration of the truce was now approaching, and the general assembly, which met in August, appointed commissioners to treat with Ormond for a renewal. Among those named to

use, and furthering the Catholic war in Ireland, two frigates at £1,500 a piece; putting himself to sea, with arms and ammunition, he went to Scotland, where his freight was welcome to the Irish party—so the Redshanks and their adherents were called. On notice of this relief, others joined with them, 'till they were 3,000 men. All the Roundheads there would rather fly to the very devil than fall into their hands. They suffered much penury, but with godly patience, pursuing the enemy to Edinbro' and other cities. One day, in sight of Dunedin, 6,000 of the enemy appeared in the field, and the Irish-Scot only 2,500, gave them a pitched battle, where those Machabeyans broke upon the enemy, had the slaughter of 3,000 of them, and the honour of the field. After this signal service, Antrim arrived with his frigates in Ireland, and landed in Wexford, where he appointed some of the best sort in that art captains of those frigates, which, with the two of Owen O'Neill, did scoure the coasts, and brought in many rich prizes to the great advantage of the Confederates."—Aph. Discov., Part I., pp. 89, 90.

negotiate this momentous subject was Fleming, archbishop of Dublin ; but as Ormond objected to him, Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, Browne, D'Arcy, Dillon, and Plunket, set out on the 31st of August for Dublin, where the cessation was extended to December 1, and subsequently to a longer period.

CHAPTER V.

WHEN the Confederate Commissioners returned to Kilkenny, Charles I. congratulating himself on the brilliant victories achieved by Colkitto and Montrose in Scotland, began to think that nothing could prove so conducive to his interests as a peace with the Irish Catholics ; but, knowing as he did their oath of association, he was distressed at being obliged to purchase that great boon at such a price as the untrammelled exercise of the Catholic religion. Nevertheless, the confederates were the only loyal subjects in Ireland on whose willing hearts he could place reliance. Disaffection at this period was widespread, and Inchiquin was already tampering with Lord Esmond, then governor of Duncannon, and persuading him to either declare for the parliament, or surrender that strong place to their forces. As for himself, he had agreed on a truce with General Purcell, which was not to expire till the 10th of April following. This was meant to propitiate Ormond, who thought highly of O'Brien's abilities as a soldier. The consequence was that the latter had time to collect forces, and strengthen himself in the towns out of which he had expelled the Catholics. Meanwhile the truce

which had been renewed with Ormond, left the Supreme Council free to look closely into their own circumstances; and they resolved to send agents beyond seas to the courts of the Catholic princes. Their design was, that they might know themselves what they had to trust to, and what succours they might really depend on from abroad; and that, in case they should be forced to serve God again in holes and corners, the world might know they had laboured all they could to prevent that misfortune. For this purpose Father Hugh Bourke* was sent to the court of Madrid, to solicit the King of Spain; Belling,† Secretary of the Council, had orders to proceed to the Vatican, to congratulate Innocent X. on his accession, and implore His Holiness to grace Ireland with a Nunzio. He was also charged to wait on the Italian princes—the Dukes of Florence, Parma, and others, and especially the Marquess of Castel-Rodrigo, Governor of the Low Countries. In those courts he was to plead for the Irish Catholics, and obtain for them contributions in money, arms, and munitions. A winsome tongue had this Belling, and being master of many languages, he was well able to discharge the trust confided to him. Hartegan, a Jesuit, remained as their envoy at the French court.

The articles of the treaty with Ormond were religiously observed; and, towards the end of December the king wrote to him thus:—"I have thought to give you this order, to seek to renew the cessation for a year; for which you you shall promise the Irish, if you can have it no

* Bishop of Kilmacduagh, 1647; ob. 1653.

† Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 78.

cheaper, to join with them against the Scots and Inchiquin." Ormond, however, did not attach much importance to this command, and was in no mood to oppose either Munroe or Inchiquin; on the contrary, he had already hinted to his partisans in the Council that he meditated a peace which was calculated to prove acceptable to the former. Meantime, the flagitious acts passed in the parliament towards the end of September, caused the Supreme Council to take such steps as were necessary for their immediate security. Comparatively unprotected as the coast was at this moment, they knew not how soon a descent might be made by their enemies; and the orders to execute all Irish born and papists who might be found upon the seas, struck salutary terror to their hearts. The most important seaports then in their possession were Waterford, Wexford, and Galway. The loss of any of those would have inflicted incalculable consequences, and a rumour reached them that Esmond, traitor to his God and king, was about to surrender Duncannon to the parliament. About the beginning of January, Preston was ordered to blockade that fortress; but this proving too slow a process, he resolved to convert the blockade into a siege. The weather being extremely bad, and a whirlwind prevailing, "which blew the priming off the guns, filling the pans with dust," seriously retarded the operations of the besiegers.* A flotilla

* For an account of the operations before Duncannon, see p. 293 of Appendix to "Irish Franciscan Monasteries." The place having been taken on the 17th March, was afterwards called Fort St. Patrick. The author of *Aph. Discov.* speaks of Preston's success thus:—"This was the verie best sledge that was yett in Ireland, most plentifull of all necessaries, both of pay, amunition, shuttlers, all kind of liquor,

was ordered by the parliament to succour the place, but such was the perseverance of the Confederates that they finally drove out the garrison, after a ten weeks' siege. During this time they expended 19,000 pounds of powder, and were ably assisted by the inhabitants of Ross and Wexford. Esmond, who was old and blind, died soon after, and thus escaped a punishment which his disloyalty merited. Whilst the Confederates were engaged at this siege, the king sent an order to Ormond to conclude a peace with the Confederates, whereon, the general assembly, then sitting, on the 6th of March, immediately despatched Sir Nicholas Plunket and Lord Muskerry to confer with him. Ormond, who was fully empowered by the king to abrogate

souldiers accordingly most couragious and forward, many bould attempts they made on the walls, with loss on either. One night the assayllants did carie away their boates, the cables tyed to the verie post of the posterne doore, on the sea side beinge well watched, they cutt the cables, and caries the boates away, to their owne greate praise, and the enemies exceedinge losse, the best comaunder that was of the deffendants was killed, one Laurence Lorcan, this defunct lieutenant was captain in his place, an audacious spiteful fellowe, did severall times mounte the walle, and Waterforde and Rosse complied with their promise, the speake most basely of his country men, in scorne and defiance, the ordinance and bombs goinge very thicke. This Lorcan lyinge on the walle the ordinance goinge, the bullett hittinge on the walle, away goes a stone by the force of the bullett, which reboundinge on another opposit wall, after the said rebounde, hitted Lorcan on the heade and killed him presently. The death of this onely man discouraged all the rest, notwithstandinge they endured some fewe daies after, the bombs mightie troubled them, they must now stay within their forte, and not mounte the walls, as accustomed, the bombe (now or never) one day hitted in their storehouse to their high discouragment. The Governor an ould and crafty fox now began to know himself to be mortall and to be saluted now and then with the pangs of

the penal statutes, artfully concealed the royal orders, and referred the commissioners to the decision of his majesty, who had determined that these obnoxious statutes should not be put in execution after the conclusion of a peace. He then strove to convince them that a suspension of Poyning's law could not be conducive to their interests; and declared that the Catholics were to be released from all the king's rents and revenues which they had received since the beginning of the war, and that there should be an abolition of all outlawries, attainders, and indictments against any and all of them. The king, he assured them, was willing to confer all places of trust and honour indiscriminately on Catholic and Protestant subjects; but he indignantly denied that he had any notion of employing an equal number of both parties. With this unsatisfactory arrangement, the delegates hastened back to Kilkenny, to report the result of their conference to the assembly. But as the lord lieutenant made no guarantee for religious immunities, save such as the king might subsequently be induced to grant, the great body of the assembly would not subscribe a peace that did not secure the public service of religion. Scarampo and the

death, and his best souldiers alreadie killed, seeinge noe reliefe like to come, a more tempestuous time could scarce be seene, though now in that poore posture he rather amused of quarter then of God Almightye, they sounde within for a parley, that graunted, hostages yelded on both sides, a minister from the forte and Oliver Darcy† a Dominican frier, a brave intruding companion from the campe, their quarter, as much baggage as they were able to carry on their backs, lives and armes, a convoy to their choice garrison, next day yelded the forte."

† Afterwards Bishop of Dromore, 1648; ob. 1670.

bishops would not make any compromise, and as the peace on which Ormond reckoned held out no promise of restoration of their lands to the Catholics of Ulster—robbed and evicted by James I.—a large majority of the Confederates repudiated the wily viceroy's artifices. And no wonder that such terms should be rejected with scorn. The clergy, too, who exercised the most unbounded influence over their flocks, were secretly informed of the king's intention to grant their demands, and notwithstanding the unseemly haste of Plunket and Muskerry to negotiate a peace with Ormond, contrived to obstruct it. But, although the commissioners, who favoured Ormond's views, did not advocate them in the assembly, they continued, nevertheless, to carry on an under-hand negotiation with him in Dublin. Throughout the entire summer this unhappy question furnished matter for acrimonious discussion, and re-kindled the animosities which reappeared between the Anglo-Irish nobility and the "old Irish," when the cessation was concluded in 1643.

But it is necessary to relinquish this important matter for awhile, in order to witness events of another character. The truce with Inchiquin expired on the 10th of April, and the Confederates were unanimous in their resolve to destroy him and his adherents. For this purpose they ordered Castlehaven to proceed to Munster with an army of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In a very short time he reduced all the castles in the baronies of Imokilly and Barrymore. Cappoquin, Dromane, Mitchelstown, Castlelyons, Mallow, Doneraile, Lis-carroll, and Lismore surrendered on articles. He next reduced Rostellan, and in it took Colonel

H. O'Brien,* and Colonel Courtenay. Inchiquin could not resist, and was obliged to shut himself up in Cork, whither he was pursued by Castlehaven, who wasted the country to the very walls of the city. He then besieged Youghal, but owing to some misunderstanding between himself and Preston, he did not act with vigour, and thus left the place in possession of Lord Broghill, who had got a supply of arms and ammunition from the parliament. Towards the beginning of September Castlehaven disbanded his forces and returned to Kilkenny.

The parliament of England, hearing of those movements in the south, lost no time in strengthening Munroe's forces in Ulster, and after having nominated young Coote to the presidency of Connaught, sent over £10,000 to the Covenanters, with a considerable supply of clothing. On the 8th of June Sir Charles Coote presented letters from a committee of both houses, requesting Munroe to send 500 men to Connaught, who were to be joined by Sir F. Hamilton's regiment, in order to reduce Sligo. Munroe complied, after some hesitation, and marched 4,000 foot and 500 horse into the counties of Mayo and Galway. Their progress was marked by carnage and burnings. Sir Robert Stewart took possession of Sligo, and Coote set about raising 1,400 horse, in order to overrun the entire county. Clanricarde, who had been appointed president by Ormond, could offer but a feeble resistance, for his apathy in the earlier period of the war so lessened his influence, that the people had little regard for him. As for Ormond, he beheld the critical position of his friend with a stoic's indifference.

* Brother to Inchiquin. He betrayed his trust at Wareham, which he surrendered to the parliament.

Clanricarde, however, got about 2,500 men to oppose the overwhelming force which was now devastating the country, and appointed Lord Taafe to the command; but he effected nothing of importance, his efforts being confined to the reduction of such minor places as Castlecoote and Jamestown. The Supreme Council, alarmed for the safety of Galway, ordered Sir James Dillon and Malachy O'Queely, archbishop of Tuam, to drive the Scotch and English out of Sligo. They attacked the place on Sunday, October 26th, with a force far inferior to that of the enemy's, and succeeded in getting into the town just as word was brought them that a large corps was hastening to reinforce the garrison. The confederates took alarm and fled, pursued by the Scotch, and the unfortunate archbishop was made prisoner, and assassinated after quarter given.*

* Bruodin, in the *Propug. C. Veritatis*, states that the archbishop was cut into bits by the Scots.—“In minutas sectus est partes, absciso brachio dextero, etiam post datam fidem.” Mr. Hardiman, in his history of Galway, has this curious note on the subject:—“Here is a true tragidie of the unhappie expedition of Sligoe, viz. :—Last Sunday our forces, after taking the abbie of Sligoe, and hearing of the approach of Coote with a strong relief, began to march back, and though they beat the enemie that day and the day before, yet, then, a few horse of the said enemie put them most shamefully to flight, in which flight (proh dolor) my Lord Archbishop, Father Teige Conel, Father Augustine Higgin, with other clergymen, were killed and pitifullie mangled, and so left near Sligoe.”

The Aph. Discov. has the following account of the archbishop's capture and death:—“After long consideration the Councell did recall the authoritie given Taafe and in his place did apointe Mollaghlin Quely, Archbishops of Tuame, a brave prelate (but alas! to his slaughterhouse) the co-comaunder of Taafe, his own vnclie Sir James Dillon, was chiefe man in this prelat's armie, a prime pillar in Ormond's buildinge (though sworne to the confederacie) takinge to hearte the displacinge his said nephewe, was soe

In this unfortunate affair some of the most distinguished Catholics of the province were either slain or carried off prisoners by the Scotch.

Meanwhile, and before the occurrence of those events, the king, feeling his difficulties daily in-

farr caried by this passion, and soe farr engaged, in the faction that he never made scruple of his oathe to the contrary, thought now to avenge on the inocent that suposed wronge, though it fall on God's minister, marchinge therfore towards Sligo, the comaunder most desirous to doe service, in all things verie eminent and sure, onely in the practise of the arte militarie, was not soe experte, as not trained therin, left this, with pregnant reason to the arbitration of practitioners, and the doome of a councill of warr, himself zealous and godly, suspected none as not obnoxious of any guilte that he concealed.

The armie lying within 5 mile to Slygoe, as fearinge noe enemie, for Sir James Dillon dayly and howerly perswaded him to be of courage, and not to fear, as havinge receaved intelligence of the enemie's beinge the matter of 20 mile off, and durst not venture soe farr, beinge a weake partie in respects of ours. Sir James now and still presumed too much in his owne intelligence, many gave belife and thought it true, but were deceived, as this prelat was now lulled asleepe by those poisoninge drugs, confidinge too much in the securitie of the place and former intimation, gave way that his campe was neither guarded by watche or scouta, (though not his fault but the under officers), which was the sole objecte of his advicer, the enemie well informed in what a carlesse posture the Irish campe stooode, (gotte theire intelligence from the verie campe), marched soe warie and secrett, that they were not seene, untill alreadie intringe the campe, untill Sir James telling now the Arch-bishoppe that the enemie was at hande, and desired him to save himself the best he could, scarce uttered the last ayllable of this compendious speeche, when leavinge his comaunder and campe, sent worde unto his owne men to follow him, and save themselves by flight, beinge observed, the enemie rushinge forward, where (likely certified where the archbishoppe had been) took him prisoner, killed some of those that beared him company, but did little hurte to such as fled away, now assured that theire prisoner was

crease, and well knowing that Ormond* was so zealous a Protestant as to be absolutely averse to granting the Irish confederates such terms as they insisted upon, determined to send them a Catholic envoy, in the person of Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Glamorgan, who arrived in Dublin about the end of July or beginning of August. Having conferred with the lord lieutenant, Glamorgan soon after proceeded to Kilkenny, where the Supreme Council was sitting, and discussing the terms proposed by the lord lieutenant. Glamorgan had been empowered by the king to treat with the confederates, "and also to levy any number of men in Ireland and other parts beyond sea, commanding of them, putting officers over them, governors in forts and towns, and giving him power to receive the king's rents." He therefore, by virtue of the commission given by his majesty, entered into a treaty with the confederates, by which it was agreed and accorded by the said Earl, on the part of his majesty, and Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Donogh Lord Muskerry, as commissioners appointed by the said confederate Catholics:—"That all the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, shall enjoy the free and public use and

that great prelat, they suffered all others to goe at pleasure, hanged and beheaded this eminent prelat. Such is the fruite of faction, in these our daies, as of adulterie in Herod's time, that seeinge wee had not yett, a Baptiste toe beheaded him, will pay it in the execrable betrayings of a most worthy Archbishope, whose like in godlinesse, liberalitie and zeale was not to be had in Ireland."

* "His majesty knew well where the poyson worked, but could not help it, only gave authoritie to a prime benefactor of his own, the Earl of Clanmorgan, a sage and politick peer, to conclude a settlement between his majesty, and his Catholic subjects of Ireland."—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 92.

exercise of their religion.—That they shall hold and enjoy all the churches by them enjoyed, or by them possessed, at any time since the 23rd October 1641, and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his majesty's Protestant subjects.—That all the Roman Catholics shall be exempted from the jurisdiction of a Protestant clergy, and that the Catholic clergy shall not be punished or molested for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective flocks. And, also, that an act shall be passed in the next parliament for securing to them all the king's concessions.—That the Marquess of Ormond, or any others, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in possession of the articles above specified.—The Earl of Glamorgan engages his majesty's word for the performance of these articles.—That the public faith of the kingdom shall be engaged unto the said Earl by the commissioners of the confederate Catholics, for sending 10,000 men by order and declaration of the general assembly at Kilkenny, armed, the one-half with muskets, and the other half with pikes, to serve his majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the said Glamorgan, as lord general of the said army; which army is to be kept together in one entire body, and all other the officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the Supreme Council of the said confederate Catholics, or by such others as the general assembly of the said confederate Catholics of Ireland shall entrust therewith."

When these articles were signed by the Supreme Council and Glamorgan, the general assembly, on the 28th of August, "ordered and declared that their union and oath of association shall remain

firm and inviolable, and in full strength, in all points, and to all purposes until the articles of the intended peace shall be ratified in parliament, notwithstanding any proclamation of the peace." But, in order to avoid the inconvenience which the publication of these concessions might produce to the king, it was thought proper to be deferred till the forces designed for his majesty should arrive in England, when he might more confidently avow and confirm the concessions made with his sanction by Earl Glamorgan.

Such were the terms offered on the king's behalf by Glamorgan,* copies of which had already been submitted to the archbishops and other leading members of the confederates. Nor should we omit mentioning that said articles were not to take effect until the arrival of a Nunzio sent by his Holiness Innocent X. Commissioners from Kilkenny spent ten weeks in Dublin endeavouring to obtain from Ormond a publication of the king's concessions to his Catholic subjects. Ormond, in fact, had been empowered to conclude peace with the Catholics on *any* conditions, provided the confederates sent 10,000 men to England for his majesty; but the viceroy, far from complying with the royal mandate, pleaded that his majesty was weak in the field, and therefore gave him that authority, for otherwise he would never condescend to such a proposition. But as the commissioners were charged to accept nothing that was contrary to, or inconsistent with, the private concessions made by Glamorgan, they returned to Kilkenny to report the utter failure of their efforts.†

* A copy was found in the baggage of the Archbishop of Tuam after his assassination:

† Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 92.

While these matters were being negotiated in Dublin and at the head-quarters of the confederates, there occurred another event that aggravated the loss of Sligo. A parliament flotilla sailed up the Shannon, and with the sanction of the Earl of Thomond, threw some five or six hundred men into his castle of Bunratty. The result, however, was in one respect beneficial to the national cause; for Limerick, hitherto neutral, now openly declared its adhesion to the confederacy.

But let us follow Sir Richard Belling to Rome, and make the reader acquainted with a personage who was destined to figure conspicuously in the history of the Irish confederates. Belling reached Rome about the end of February, 1645, and was presented to his Holiness by Father Luke Wadding, and received as the accredited envoy of the confederate Catholics.*

The recently elected Pontiff, who was suspected of being hostile to the French court, and of a strong leaning to the interests of Spain, succeeded in removing the apprehensions of both parties; and seeing the war which had so long desolated the Continent drawing to a close, scarcely needed the memorial of the Irish Catholics to turn his attention to their then far off island.† But in applying to the court of Rome, it is quite evident that they calculated on finding unity and power in obedience to the supreme chief of that religion which was

* At Rome he was received with more honour than he was worthy of, got rich presents from his Holiness, and other princes and prelates, and the fiat of a Nunzio for Ireland being the cause of his mission.—Aph. Discov., Part I, p. 78.

† Three centuries ago, Tasso speaks of Ireland as "*La divisa dal mondo, l'ultima Irlanda.*"

their only common bond, disunited as they were in every other respect. His Holiness having heard Belling's account of the actual state of affairs, determined to forward to Ireland considerable supplies of arms and money, and while the secretary was at the court of Florence, resolved to send to the confederates a minister with the high and influential dignity of Nunzio extraordinary.

He first selected Luigi Omedei, whom he afterwards made cardinal, but in consequence of the objections of Mazarin against the appointment of a prelate who, as a Milanese, was a subject of Spain, he substituted John Baptist Rinuccini, who, being of Tuscan origin, should be regarded as belonging to a neutral power. This distinguished prelate, son of a Florentine noble, was born in Rome, on the 15th of September, 1592. From his earliest years he manifested a decided predilection for the ecclesiastical profession, and commenced his studies under the tutelage of the Jesuits. In his eighteenth year he went to Bologna, and thence to Perugia, to study canon law. After a brief sojourn in the latter city, when but twenty-two years of age, he received his doctor's degree, and was at the same time elected member of the learned academy Della Crusca. After a brief sojourn in the city of students and gallant soldiers,* at the desire of his uncle, Cardinal Octavian Bandini, he returned to Rome, where immoderate application to studies of a diversified nature did such fearful injury to his health, that he never afterwards recovered that strength and corporeal energy which render life so dear, and sustain it in great and arduous trials.

* "Militibus validis studiosa Perusia claret."

—T. Edwardi Angli. Ital. Descriptio.

To repair a constitution which had suffered so severely, he retired for a while to the patrimony of his fathers, on the banks of the Arno; but quiet and seclusion ill according with his active mind, he retraced his steps to Rome, where he practised law under Signor Buratti, a celebrated canonist in the court of Gregory XV. In Rome, as elsewhere, he earned considerable celebrity, and was appointed by his Holiness clerk of the chamber, and soon afterwards one of his domestic prelates, and secretary to the congregation of rites. On the demise of Gregory XV., Urban VIII. was raised to the fisherman's throne, and the successor of Rinuccini's first friend and patron, to prove how highly he esteemed his piety and talents, conferred on him the archiepiscopal see of Fermo, in the marches of Ancona, then vacant by the decease of Monsignor Dini, which occurred in the year 1625.

Signor Aiazzi, the Nunzio's biographer, informs us that his conduct in the archiepiscopal see was distinguished by the most exemplary piety and consummate wisdom; and, in proof of his devoted attachment to the flock over which he presided, we learn from the same authority that he declined the more exalted dignity of the metropolitan see of Florence, which he was invited to accept by Urban VIII. and the Grand Duke Ferdinand, in the year 1631.

This is not the place for a critical analysis of the Nunzio's character, which should rather be learned from the history of the events in which he took such a prominent part; and instead of pausing before the portrait left us by Walsh, a degenerate member of the Franciscans, and Callaghan, a Jansenist, and supposed author of a book entitled

"*Vindiciæ Catholicorum Hiberniæ*," in which there is more falsehood than truth, we deem it better to produce the eulogy pronounced by one who cannot be accused or suspected of partiality to the illustrious Italian: "He was," says Carte, "regular, and even austere, in his life and conversation, and far from any taint of avarice or corruption." High commendation this, and rarely merited by men in circumstances like those with which Rinuccini had to contend.*

The Nunzio having received his instruction from Pope Innocent X., set out from Rome early in the year 1645, and proceeded to Florence, where he was joined by the secretary, Belling, who was so much astonished on learning that a Nunzio had been appointed for Ireland that for three days he was unable to speak. Passing rapidly through Genoa and Marseilles, he arrived in Paris on the 22nd of May. According to the instructions which he had received, he was led to believe that he would have an opportunity of negotiating personally with the Queen, Henrietta Maria of England, but on his arrival in the French metropolis circumstances transpired which totally removed the possibility of a personal interview. Sir Dudley Wyatt had been sent to Paris to communicate to

* The *Aph. Discov.*, Part I., p. 276, mentions Walsh thus:—"Your persecuting brave prelates is inactive in you, as from your cradle when but a slipp of a young fryer, informed the Protestant State of Dublin, in a time of persecution, against an Apostolical prelate, a true child of Dominic's order, Roche Geoghegan, bishop of Kildare, saying that he was not Kildare, but Tyrone's bishop, to exasperate the State against the holy prelate, which cost him many a night's wail. O wolf in sheep's clothing! O poor fellow, whose perjured tongue is typt with silver, and receive gould for reward."

the queen and the French court the news of the overthrow of the royal army; and Rinuccini, seizing the opportunity of impressing on her majesty's mind the necessity of making terms with the confederate Catholics, offered to visit her in person, and in his ministerial capacity. She, however, refused to receive him, alleging that if she did so she would violate English law, which forbade her to recognise him or the confederate government of which he was the accredited agent. Indeed, it is evident that some interested parties, who had no sympathy with the Irish, sedulously laboured to prejudice her mind against him and the Irish themselves. In fact, she had been taught to believe that the object of Rinuccini's mission was to usurp the prerogatives of the crown; and the impression does not appear to have been wholly effaced, notwithstanding his solemn declaration that the Pontiff's aim in sending him was to protect his faithful Irish Catholic children, and supply the king with those aids which he required to sustain him against the faction that had vowed the extirpation of the Irish people.

A prey to grief and despair, the queen retired from Paris to St. Germain's, where the disastrous intelligence of the king's defeat at Naseby was brought her; and modifying her opinion of the confederate Catholics, whom she hitherto designated with the dishonouring epithet "rebels," she determined, if possible, to conclude a peace, which would leave them free to send troops to England. She thereon sent to inform the Nunzio that she regretted she could not receive him without the king's consent, and earnestly desired that he would exert himself to conclude a peace which would serve to release her royal consort from the

dangers that were looming before him. Sir Dudley Wyat was the person selected to carry on this indirect negotiation, and he insisted, on the part of the queen, that the peace should be concluded in Paris, and asserted that she was ready to procure its confirmation on the part of her husband, provided the Nunzio sent to Ireland to have it ratified by the supreme council. Wyat urged the necessity of speedily coming to an arrangement. He argued that the king's condition was desperate, and that if he were obliged to make terms with the parliament faction, the ruin of Ireland must be inevitable, as it was utterly hopeless to think of resisting the combined powers of England and Scotland.

To these entreaties on the part of the queen the Nunzio replied that he had nothing so much at heart as the conclusion of a peace which would secure to the Catholics of Ireland the free and uncontrolled exercise of their religion, and immediate removal of all penal laws by which they had been so long and so grievously afflicted; and that nothing could give more heartfelt satisfaction to the pope than to learn that his minister had witnessed the conclusion of a peace which would enable him to proceed to Ireland, and there wholly occupy himself with the ecclesiastical concerns of that kingdom. But all this notwithstanding, he clearly perceived that nothing beneficial could come of such indirect negotiation, and began to think that her Majesty's promises were delusive, and only meant to delay his departure.

It was bruited too that the lords and ladies of her majesty's court were desirous to get from the Nunzio the supplies of money and arms destined for Ireland, and have them transported to England for the king's service. Mazarin, himself,

too, hinted, that an attempt of the sort was not at all unlikely,* at the same time that he deprecated the waste of those large sums which had been sent from France for the support of the royal cause.

Nor should we omit recording that the Nunzio was strictly forbidden by Cardinal Panfilio† to consent to a private interview with Henrietta Maria, simply because he could not uncover his head to a queen;‡ and on being informed that she could not receive him without this mark of respect to royalty, he was driven to the alternative of employing Sir Dudley Wyatt and her majesty's chaplain to initiate this indirect communication. There can be no doubt that the queen was determinedly opposed to Rinuccini's landing in Ireland, for he informs us that when he sent one of his retinue, Dominic Spinola, a Genoese of noble birth,§ to present her

* The Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 79, charges the secretary with malversation of the monies collected by him in Rome and elsewhere :—"Setting forth the poverty of the confederates, got £30,000 for the furtherance of the war; and with this purse, and what he got for himself, meeting the banished queen of England in Paris, gave her the said sum, all this by his own acknowledgment. He cheated the kingdom of so much, and not only was not punished for those cheats and knaveries, but not questioned at all. For my part, I do not believe he ever gave a farthing of it to the queen, for he was never so well affected to her or her royal husband, but left that sum to be divided between himself, Ormond, and the Council, which gives foment that soon after he sent his son to France with a regiment, and gave out that £1,500 he would bestow towards the preferring his daughter. Whence those sums, if not this way? Being not worth sixpence in the commencement of this war."

† He was nephew and secretary to Innocent X.

‡ Nunziat. in Irlanda, p. 450.

§ "This noble cavalier, son to the celebrated general of

with the pope's brief, she asserted with considerable vehemence that the Irish in general, and the secretary, Belling, in particular, were anxious to renounce their allegiance to the king, on plea of their devotion to the Catholic religion; nay, more, that Hartegan, the agent of the confederates at Paris, had been heard to boast that the Irish were determined to prosecute the war to the last extremity, if the terms on which they insisted were not fully conceded and confirmed. In a spirit of bitterness, which may readily be excused, when we reflect on the difficulties that then beset the king, she deprecated the conduct of the Irish, who, she said, seemed to rejoice at the reverses of her consort, when they placed him in such a position as would make him yield to their demands, on threat of their assistance being withheld. This, however, was but the passion of the moment, for, from the correspondence that describes this ebullition of the queen's feelings, we learn that, in a subsequent interview with Spinola, she expressed her entire confidence in the firmness and prudence of the Nunzio, and his devotion to the royal cause.

Anticipating the application that might be made to him for the monies he had brought from Rome, he stated, that seeing the straits to which the king had been reduced, the sums he had in his possession could be of little use, and as to any agreement be-

that name, dispatched from France, arriving in Kilkenny, and there observing all things unto the quick, wrote his letters unto the Nunzio how matters were carried, and advised his lordship to come with as small a train as could be, and to land in Limerick, then being neutral, and obeying neither Ormond or Council. Spinola fell sick and died unexpectedly, and by many understanding witts was poisoned, as was given out by the factionists, to the high grief of the zealous."—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 91.

tween the king and the parliament, Ireland had little to fear from their combined efforts, as it had carried on a war against Elizabeth in the time of Hugh O'Neill, for sixteen years, without a tithe of the sympathy with which the island was now regarded by the pope and the Catholic powers. It would appear, moreover, that the Nunzio was corresponding with the English Catholics, who declaring their inability to be of any use to his majesty, pointed to the effective aid of the Irish Catholics, who, if their demands were granted, would be ready at the shortest notice to direct all their resources and energies against the parliament. Meantime letters from Rome chided him for his delay in the French capital, and Scarampo had written from Ireland to urge his departure. The Nunzio, for the last time sent Spinola to wait on the queen to repeat his avowal of attachment to her cause and that of her consort, and with this mutual interchange of compliments terminated their negotiations. The instructions he had received on leaving Rome urged him to proceed to Ireland with all possible haste, and strictly forbade him to hold any unnecessary intercourse with the English Catholics at the queen's court, who, far from sympathizing with the Irish, were more inclined to lament any triumph to their arms, as they were afraid that they would, in consequence, be deprived of those places of dignity and emolument in that kingdom, which were the natural accompaniment of superiority and command.

Cardinal Mazarin* was most anxious to detain

* He commenced his career as a soldier, and commanded in the Valteline for the pope. His character is variously estimated. The Spaniards hated him, and Corneille immortalized him. He was a liberal patron of the arts, introduced the opera in France, and was created a cardinal in 1642.

him, and it was not till after repeated commands that he resolved to leave Paris, after having been there fully four months. A short time after his arrival in France he received a promise from the Duke de Ventadour of 100,000 dollars for the prosecution of the Irish war, but the news of the king's reverses changed that generous nobleman's intention. Having got from Mazarin 25,000 livres, that is to say, 5,000 for the purchase of some vessels, and 20,000 as a present, he left Paris for Rochelle, which he reached about the beginning of October. On his arrival there he was met by Geoffry Baron, who brought him letters from the Earl of Glamorgan informing him that the confederates anxiously awaited his arrival, as they stood in need of the military stores which had been entrusted to him. This determined him to make all the necessary arrangements for the voyage. There seems, however, to have been some misunderstanding as to the means of transport to Ireland, for Hartegan informed him that Cardinal Mazarin had promised to place four ships at his disposal to serve as a convoy for himself and the supplies; whereas, when application was made, he learned to his mortification, that there was but one ship in the harbour, which would require at least 1,000 dollars and six weeks to make her ready for sea.

To suppose that Cardinal Mazarin was not influenced by some selfish motive on this occasion, would be to differ from those who have written the history of this remarkable man. He evidently looked with a jealous eye on any enterprise that tended to involve the affairs of Charles I., whose queen had all the sympathy of the French court, nor is it improbable that he had formed a false estimate of

the confederates, and apprehended that they meant to throw off their allegiance to the crown of England. The man "who could listen to the murmurs of the people, as one listens on the shore to the noise of the waves of the sea," was not much impressed by the course of events in Ireland, for it afforded too small a field for the finesse of the eminent statesman, who, whether commanding in the trenches of Casal* with bullets whistling about him. or returning to power, after having had a price set on his head, proved himself to be one of the greatest politicians of his day.

The French admiral, the Duke de Brezé, then in the harbour, was applied to for a ship, but as he had not orders to furnish one, it was not till considerable time had elapsed that the Nunzio succeeded in purchasing the *San Pietro*, a frigate of twenty-six guns. His retinue consisted of twenty-six Italians together with a number of Irish officers, and the secretary Belling. On board the frigate he embarked the following supplies:—2,000 muskets, 2,000 cartouch boxes, 4,000 swords, 2,000 pike-heads, 4,000 brace of pistols, 20,000 lbs. of powder, with match proportionable.†

The money, which was considerable, he took with him in Spanish gold. Father Wadding's

* Bussy Memoirs.

† During his sojourn at Paris the Nunzio was allowed by the Pope 3,000 dollars for the maintenance of himself and suite. On his arrival in Ireland, 200 dollars a month was assigned him, but he expended during his stay 15,800 dollars, of his own private income. His biographer (Aiazzi) remarks that this was a great outlay considering the low rate at which all the necessaries of life were then to be had in Ireland; a fact which is made clear by the letter of the Nunzio's confessor, Arcamoni, which will be found in the appendix.

generosity was actively incessant, and furnished 36,000 dollars, in addition to the sum contributed by Pope Innocent X. The frigate weighed anchor about the middle of October, and sailed from St. Martin, in the isle de Rhé. The two first days of the voyage were prosperous, and without any notable incident, but on the third all on board were alarmed by the appearance of a flotilla, which was evidently in pursuit. The experienced eyes of the sailors pronounced them to be parliament ships, commanded by one Plunket, whom Belling calls "a noted scourge."* Two of the squadron soon made sail in the wake of the San Pietro, whereon the Irishmen cast loose the gups and cleared the deck for action; having sent the non-combatants out of the way into the forepart of the ship. The Nunzio meanwhile was sick in his berth when word was brought him that one of the pursuing vessels had dropped astern; but to his horror, they informed him that the larger vessel of the two was still making all sail on his frigate. The chase continued for more than a hundred miles, and an hour before sunset the San Pietro lost sight of her pursuer. In a transport of joy the Italians sang a hymn of thanksgiving, and the Nunzio blessed God that none of his retinue had suffered, for he sickened at the thought of seeing blood stain his frigate's deck. He attributed his delivery from Plunket to a manifest interposition of Divine Providence, and pronounced it miraculous; but he must have subsequently learned that the escape of his pursuer was still far more wonderful, for Plunket's cooking-galley had caught fire, and being alarmed for his magazine, he was

* Narrative of the War.

obliged to shorten sail, and thus suffer the San Pietro to distance him. On that night, owing to the thickness of the weather, they did not know their bearings, although they had passed Cape Clear, but on the following day they were visited by birds, which gave them notice of their approach to the coast; and when the haze that concealed the land from their view had cleared off, they found themselves in the Bay of Kenmare, where they dropped anchor on the 21st of October. Next day the Nunzio came on shore, and his first halting place on Irish soil was a shepherd's hut, where, on the feast of St. Mabilia,* he celebrated Mass, surrounded by the peasantry, whom the unusual sight of a dignitary from the Vatican, and his Italian retinue, had brought down from the fastness of the mountains.

Having sent ashore all the arms and equipments and deposited them in Ardtully, the frigate set sail and dropped anchor right under the fort of Duncannon. As for the Nunzio, Belling caused his arrival to be announced by swift runners, wherever the confederates had garrisons, and detachments of horsemen came speedily to form his excellency's escort. He, himself, and following were sumptuously entertained in Ardtully castle by Donogh MacCarthy, surnamed MacFineen, and his noble wife, the lady Catherine, daughter of Lord Muskerry, surnamed Cormac the Blind. Having spent

*The feast of Saint Mabilia is kept in the church of Fermo, on the 21st of October, and that of St. Philip, M. and Bishop of Fermo, on the 22nd. Reflecting on this, the Nunzio says, "I am persuaded that my great predecessor was himself my guide to the place of my destination. He adds that there was reason to believe that St. Mabilia, whose head is preserved in the Cathedral of Fermo, was an Irishwoman."

two days there, he resumed his journey on a rude litter across the marshy district called by the Irish Slieve-Roughty, and was met within three miles of Macroom by the son of Lord Muskerry, at the head of fifty mounted troopers and some foot soldiers. The clergy, too, secular and regular, hastened to receive him, and led the way to the neighbouring church,* where he gave his blessing to a vast multitude prostrate on the pavement. At the great gate of Macroom castle he was received by the lady Helena Butler, sister to Lord Ormond, and wife of Lord Muskerry, who was then in Dublin. The bishop of the diocese was Richard O'Connell,† who, on learning of his excellency's arrival, journeyed rapidly from the place where he was administering confirmation, to offer his obeisance and congratulations to the illustrious personage, who after cordially embracing him, said : " Here I receive the first fruits of the Irish hierarchy, for you are the first I have seen of them." The bishop thereon made him a present of a very fine horse. Having passed four days in Macroom, the Nunzio, accompanied by the bishop of Ardfert, and Egan,

* Probably that called Kilnamartery, about two miles west of Macroom.

† In the Calendar of the S. P., James I., 1617, p. 157, Richard O'Connell is mentioned thus :—" A seminary priest, by birth of Iveragh in Desmond, his ancestors being constables of Ballicarbry, principal seat of MacCarthy More." O'Connell made his studies in the Irish College, Bourdeaux, founded and maintained by Cardinal de Sourdis, and in 1611 was vicar apostolic in his native diocese, where he raised money for the support of English and Irish Recusants.—*Carew Papers*, 1603, 1624, pp. 198, 199 He was advanced to the see of Ardfert, and died in 1650. The bishop was the *first* organizer of the Catholic Rent, and one of his blood and name was destined to win for Catholic the free exercise of their religion.

bishop of Ross, set out for Dromsecane, the residence of Dermot MacCarthy, a junior branch of that princely race. Here he was met by Richard Butler, brother of Lord Ormond, at the head of two troops of horse. The lord of Dromsecane, MacDonogh, surnamed Donogh MacCarthy, then a widower, and Donogh, his son, whose wife was Lord Muskerry's sister, entertained the Nunzio and all who came with him, splendidly. From Dromsecane they proceeded to Clonmeen, the castle of Donogh O'Callaghan, chief of his name, who entertained with rare magnificence the crowd of nobles and gentry that flocked thither to do homage to the representative of the Holy See.

From Clonmeen the Nunzio proceeded to Kilmallock, where he got a right royal reception from that noble old city, and splendid hospitality from the Dominican fathers, who, it is likely, may have repossessed themselves of the graceful monastery and church founded by the White Knight in 1291, for that illustrious order. After resting some time there, he set out for Limerick, at whose gate he was received by the clergy, municipal authorities, and the military then garrisoning the city. At the cathedral door he was met by the venerable bishop Arthur, then broken down by age and infirmities, who on presenting the insignia of his high office to the Nunzio, said: "From the Holy See I have received these, and I now return them to its representative." In that same ancient temple he presided at the obsequies of Malachy, archbishop of Tuam; and after being feted by the citizens, whom he congratulated on their recent adhesion to the confederacy, pursued his journey by slow stages, till on the 12th November he halted at a hamlet*

* Mr. Hogan of Kilkenny. author of the "Life of St.

within three miles of the confederate metropolis.

The confederates having resolved to receive him with every demonstration of respect, deputed four gentlemen, accompanied by the secretary Belling, to bid him welcome. Next morning, having ascended his litter, surrounded by thousands of the gentry and peasantry, together with a vast concourse from the neighbouring counties, he set out for the city. Conspicuous amongst this vast assemblage was a troop of fifty students on horseback, armed with pistols, the leader of whom, in a distinguished costume, and wearing a laurel wreath, recited some Latin verses, composed for the occasion, and conveyed to him the compliments and congratulations of his companions. At a short distance from the gate he descended from the litter, and having put on the cape and pontifical hat, the insignia of his office, mounted a horse caparisoned for the occasion. The secular and regular clergy had assembled in the church of St. Patrick,* close by the gate, and when it was announced that the Nunzio was in readiness, they advanced into the city in processional array, preceded by the standard-bearers of their respective orders. Under the old arch of St. Patrick's gate, he was met by the vicar-general of the diocese of Ossory and the magistrates of the city and county, who assembled to join the procession. A canopy was held over him by some citizens, who remained

Kieran," &c., &c., conjectures that the Nunzio was entertained by the Comerford family, whose castle stood in Ballybur.

* The site of this church may still be traced in the graveyard adjoining the modern parochial church of St. Patrick, outside the city wall.

bare-headed, although the rain descended in torrents. The streets were lined with regiments of infantry, and the bells of St. Canice's and those of the Black Abbey pealed out a gladsome chime.

In the heart of the city, and nearly opposite the ancient residence called Wolf's Arch, stood the Market Cross,* a beautiful structure, erected in the year 1400. Here the Nunzio halted, while a young student pronounced an appropriate oration in Latin. The procession then swept on till it ascended the gentle eminence on which the splendid old fabric, sacred to St. Canice stands. At the grand entrance he was received by the venerable bishop of Ossory, whose feebleness prevented him walking in the procession. After mutual salutations, the bishop handed him the aspersorium and incense, and then both entered the cathedral, which, even in the palmiest days of Catholicity, never held within its precincts a more memorable or joyful assemblage.

After kneeling a few moments, the Nunzio, wearing gorgeous cope and mitre, ascended the steps of the grand altar, and bestowed the pontifical benediction on all present, and the city itself. Te Deum was then intoned by the Italian choristers who came in his train, the immense multitude taking up alternate strophes of the magnificent hymn till roof, and crypt, and chancel seemed shaken as it were by "the voice of many waters." Some few years before these events, Rothe† had set up a mural tablet to commemorate the restoration of the cathedral to the ancient worship—*pristino cultui*,—and we may reasonably imagine that on this thrilling occasion he bethought him of St. Simeon's

* Removed in the year 1771.

† C. 1618, d. 1650.

aspiration, and felt assured that his mortality should one day rest beneath the altar of his beloved basilica.* There, assuredly was the fittest sepulchre for him; but, alas for the vanity of human expectations!—

The religious ceremonies concluded, the Nunzio retired to the residence provided for him, and was waited on by Lord Muskerry and General Preston. After a couple days' repose, he proceeded on foot to visit lord Mountgarret, president of the Supreme Council, who then occupied the grand old castle of the Ormonds. At foot of the great staircase he was met by Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, Walsh,† archbishop of Cashel, and Heber MacMahon,‡ bishop of Clogher. After mutual congratulations, they ascended the stairs, and were ushered by Belling into the presence of the lord president, who awaited his excellency's arrival at the end of the splendid gallery. As the Nunzio approached, Mountgarret rose from his chair, without, however, moving a single inch in advance. The seat provided for the former was of damask and gold, somewhat more ornamented than that of the president, and was placed on the right of Mountgarret's, but yet so that it looked rather to the left, and this made it doubtful which of the two occupied the central position.

The Nunzio immediately addressed the president in Latin, and declared that the object of his mission was to sustain the king, then so perilously circumstanced; but, above all, to rescue from pains and

* "Hunc locum prædestinaveram mihi: Dignum est
Enim ut ibi requiescat sacerdos, ubi offerre consuevit."

Ambr. Epist. xxii.

† C. 1626, d. 1654.

‡ C. 1642, exec. 1650.

penalties the people of Ireland, and to assist them in securing the free and public exercise of their religion, and the restoration of the churches and church property, of which fraud and violence had so long deprived their rightful inheritors. He implored those who heard him to dismiss from their minds the insinuations of some who were artfully endeavouring to misrepresent the motives of the pope in accrediting him to the confederacy, and concluded by solemnly asseverating, on the word of a prince, that far from wishing to do injury to King Charles, it was his earnest anxiety to uphold his majesty's tottering throne. The bishop of Clogher, to whom Rinuccini had been specially confided by the Holy See, followed in a spirited speech, and echoed the sentiments to which the papal minister had given utterance. On conclusion of these formalities, the Nunzio, accompanied by Preston and Muskerri, withdrew, and the troops escorted him to his domicile, whose façade was now distinguished by a shield surmounted by the papal tiara and keys, with a dove holding in its beak a sprig of olive—the arms of the Nunziature. The cold formality of Mountgarret did not escape his observation, for, in writing to Rome, he mentions that, as he retired from the gallery, the president never stirred from his place. This conduct of the president was, it would appear, a violation of the severe etiquette of the period, and the Cardinal Secretary of State resented it in a letter to the Nunzio:—"The account of your reception pained us; and although the president of the council might have been more polite, we deem it unwise to raise a controversy on the subject. It will be for F. Luke (Wadding) to signify, as if from himself, that such reception should be regu-

lated according to the ceremonial observed in the court of the duke of Genoa, who on the arrival of a Nunzio goes half way to meet him, and on his departure accompanies him a little further."

But all this notwithstanding, the Supreme Council lost no time in communicating to the pontiff their grateful acknowledgment of the favours so recently bestowed upon Ireland :—

"**MOST HOLY FATHER**—One of the first acts of your pontificate has been to send us a Nunzio in the person of John Baptist, archbishop of Fermo, and we hasten to return our thanks for the paternal solicitude thus shown us. If we have been unable to receive so exalted a personage with that pomp and splendour which the occasion called for, we humbly pray that the joy and overflow of heart with which we have hailed his arrival, may make amends. Grateful for the supplies which the Nunzio has brought us we earnestly implore that your paternal bounty may not cease till you shall have beheld the Catholic religion flourishing in our island, and the enemies of our faith vanquished by the potent arm of the God of hosts."

Now, it so happened that Muskerry, Plunket, and the other commissioners did not return from Dublin till the 12th of November, the day before Rinuccini's entry into Kilkenny, and on their arrival it was whispered to them that the old Irish in the assembly had resolved to rely for redress of all grievances on his excellency the Nunzio. Muskerry and his partizans, said they. have laboured all they could to conclude peace with Ormond without insisting on any concessions in the matter of religion, save such as the king may grant us as a grace when

victorious over his enemies ; but we are tired of begging favours and immunities, and all the more so since we are in a position to insist upon them as our rights. Therefore, instead of hoping for success from the action of the Supreme Council, they began to look beyond seas for sympathy and support, and especially to Innocent X., who had already given such unquestionable proof of his regard in sending them a minister from his court, and large supplies in money and arms. In a word a more marked estrangement had begun to manifest itself between the parties who long before were mutually opposed, without, however, making open manifestation of their antipathies, and those who had persuaded themselves that Rinuccini would realize for them all they desired, now began to be called Nunzionists, while those who adhered to the lord lieutenant got the designation of Ormondists.

And as it were to add to the embarrassment of the latter, they were now informed that the Nunzio, while in Paris, received a memorial from Rome, which had been transmitted thither from the English Catholics, representing their grievances, and desiring that the Irish would insert among the articles of the peace, about which they were treating with the king, some conditions in their favour ; and that the peace be concluded upon such terms as might secure the Irish in their own country, and at the same time enable them to come to his majesty's assistance in England with an army, which should be joined by the English Catholics. The conditions laid down by this memorial were the following :—
“That the Irish do not come to England with less than 10,000 or 12,000 men ; that they may

subsist of themselves without any fear of being cut off even by those English Protestants who serve under his majesty.—That two seaport garrisons be delivered up to them.—That the general be subject only to the immediate orders of the king.—That this army be kept together in a body, and not obliged to go upon any particular service, except by order from the general and council of war.—That the English Catholics, by the king's command and authority, have a power of meeting in a body, and with a corps of horse, answerable to the Irish foot, forming one army.—That the Catholic general of this body of English horse be such a man as shall not be distrusted by the Irish, but approved of by the Irish general."

As a necessary consequence of these conditions, the English Catholics had pledged themselves that nothing should be omitted which was essential and necessary to the complete re-establishment of the Catholic religion in Ireland. The subject afforded ample room for discussion in the assembly, and a considerable time was spent by the Ormondists and the party opposed to them in debating it.

But, for the elucidation of the matter it is necessary to state in what relation Glamorgan stood to the king and the Irish people. He was a Catholic, and son to the Marquess of Worcester. For the king he entertained the most chivalrous devotion, and had already advanced, conjointly with his father, £200,000 towards the maintenance of the royal cause. He was married to Margaret O'Brien, daughter of Henry Earl of Thomond; and his religion and connexions gave the king reason to believe that his influence in Ireland

should be paramount. As we have already stated, his majesty was well convinced that Ormond would make no terms with the confederates which they would regard as satisfactory. He, therefore, gave Glamorgan a commission to levy men, coin money, and use the revenues of the crown for their support; and empowered him to grant the Catholics such terms as it was not prudent for the king or Ormond to offer openly, and a solemn pledge to ratify whatever engagements he (Glamorgan) might conclude. He also furnished him with letters to the Pope, the Nunzio, and the Catholic princes from whom he expected aid. When the Nunzio arrived in Kilkenny, the earl produced a commission empowering him to treat with the confederates, and this instrument expressed the king's hope—"That the work commenced by the late pope, in behalf of the Irish Catholics, would have a happy accomplishment in the hands of his present minister, aided by the assistance of his dear cousin (Glamorgan), with whom he was at liberty to make whatever terms he thought best, all of which he (the king) would ratify on Glamorgan's return." He also informed the Nunzio "that an acquaintance of twenty years had confirmed his love and respect for Glamorgan, and that whatsoever he promised in his name, he would feel himself obliged to ratify as the price of the favours he received." "Depend, therefore, on him," concludes this autograph instrument, "but on the understanding that the whole matter is to be kept strictly secret, since you see that necessity demands silence, this being the first document which we have ever addressed to any papal minister, but hoping that it is not to be the last."

"Oxford, 30th April, 1645."

To this we may add the warrant which Glamorgan exhibited to the Nunzio and the council, of whose authenticity there cannot be any doubt : —“ Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, Edward Earl of Glamorgan, greeting. We, reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal, to all intents and purposes) authorise and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity anything to be condescended unto, wherein our lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at the present publicly to own ; and, therefore, we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all possible secrecy ; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgment shall deem fit, we promise on the word of a king and a Christian to ratify and perform the same, that shall be granted by you, and under your hand and seal, the said confederate Catholics having, by their supplies, testified their zeal to our service : and this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant.”

Along with the foregoing, Glamorgan showed the Nunzio a letter in the king's hand, addressed to “Our Most Holy Father, Innocent X.,” but without revealing its purport, or when it was to be despatched. With such assurances, as to political advantages on the one side, and the concessions made in behalf of the Catholic religion on the other, Rinuccini deemed it unwise to resist

the general desire of the confederates for the conclusion of peace. Nevertheless, he seems all through to have had some misgivings as to the sincerity of the king, although in a private interview with Glamorgan, he got a solemn assurance that, when the term of Ormond's vice-royalty had expired, his successor should be a Catholic; and that the Catholic bishops would be entitled, as soon as a free parliament could be assembled, to sit as spiritual peers, and take part in all matters concerning the well-being of the kingdom. Not fully satisfied with the solemn promises, the Nunzio urged that some contingency, or the death of Glamorgan himself, might prevent the transmission of the troops, in which case the king would not be bound by a pledge that was purely conditional. He insisted, moreover, that in case the English Catholics did not assist the Irish levies, a failure of the enterprise might result; but Glamorgan, overruling all these considerations, bound himself by oath, that the 10,000 Irish infantry, for which he stipulated, should not strike a blow before the treaty had received the royal signature; and in case the king withheld his consent, the troops should at once embark and be landed in Ireland. Meanwhile Mountgarret and Muskerry urged the necessity of speedily sending the succours; and Father Leyburn, one of her Majesty's English chaplains, charged the Irish people with cruelty in insisting on too much, and sought to convince them that bare toleration of their religion was all they might reasonably expect from a king so straitened as was his Majesty. Apprehensive of some failure of Glamorgan's treaty, the Nunzio had gained over nine bishops, who signed a protest against any agreement with Ormond or the king,

that did not fully guarantee the maintenance of the Catholic religion; and this was to be kept in reserve, and afterwards produced as occasion might require. The precaution was necessary, inasmuch as he saw that no power of persuasion could moderate the desire of Ormond's partizans for a peace, all the more so that they were now enabled to appeal to the letters exhibited by Glamorgan, in which Charles pledged himself, on the word of a king and a Christian, to make good, to all intents and purposes whatever he should perform. "And although you exceed," said his majesty, "what law can warrant, or any powers of ours extend to, as not knowing what you have need of, yet it being for our service, we oblige ourself not only to give you our pardon, but to maintain the same with all our might and power."

Much time was wasted in the negotiations, and it was not till near the close of December that Glamorgan set out for Dublin, accompanied by two commissioners from the Supreme Council, to confer with Ormond about a levy of troops, and their conveyance to England, where the king's condition had become almost desperate, Chester, the only city by which he could maintain correspondence with Ireland, being then besieged by the army of the parliament.

Six months had now elapsed since the Nunzio's arrival in Ireland, and in the interval he had ample opportunity of studying the characters of the conflicting parties in the assembly and Supreme Council, and making himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of the whole island in all its aspects, ecclesiastical, civil, and military. His report on these subjects, despatched to the Cardinal Secretary of State, is so interesting and exhaustive that

we present it to the reader:—"Touching the political condition of this country, it should be known that the Irish at the beginning of the late war formed a confederation, and bound themselves by a solemn public oath of association. They then elected out of the four provinces a magisterial body,* which they call the Supreme Council, consisting of 24 noblemen, *i.e.*, six out of each province. Hence, it frequently happened that, owing to some accident or other, not more than twelve or fourteen have been resident. In progress of time, when they began to treat with the king about peace, and especially when they sent commissioners to Oxford on that business, a deputation of other councillors, besides the 24 already mentioned, was introduced to receive and examine the conditions of the proposed peace, and make them known to the people at large. And as this deputation was constituted from time to time of other members, whenever commissioners were sent to Dublin or elsewhere, these gradually began to be enrolled in the council, and take their seats formally, so that the council, almost without perceiving it, was increased to the number of forty. This addition has caused three inconveniences in the government—one patent, and the other two occult. The former was the confusion and difficulty of the resolutions; for as each enactment should have the votes of all, nothing could be achieved within reasonable time without frivolous bickerings. Moreover, as every matter, grave or trifling, had to be submitted to the full council—contrary to the procedure of every well-regulated governing body—there resulted waste of time, and inability of the

* *Corpo di Magistrato.*

councillors to give sufficient attention to weighty affairs, wearied as they were by frequent meetings, morning and night. But the other two disadvantages, not quite so tangible, grew far more troublesome; for as the peace commissioners were obliged to confer with Lord Ormond in Dublin, individuals devoted to his policy were selected, on the pretext of securing his favour. As a consequence, the Irish Council began to be packed by the partizans of that faction, the sole and prime cause now, and perhaps in time to come, of all the violent commotions and miseries of this kingdom.

The second inconvenience has been the splitting of the Irish into two parties—the old and the modern, which must always be detrimental to the advancement of religion; because those of the former caste perceiving that the Council was being filled with partizans of Lord Ormond, looked on themselves as flouted by the government, grew opposed to it, nay, and longed for some opportunity to create an insurrection. In this manifest division originate the conflicting aims now pervading the whole island. The ancient nobility, desiring to augment their influence, have laboured to gain the clergy to their views, alleging that if they cannot obtain a glorious peace, they will assuredly prosecute the war. Their opponents, on the other hand, have begun to distrust the clergy, and in their readiness to accept any sort of peace, have not hesitated to proclaim that they would be quite satisfied with free exercise of religion in private houses, and that it would be unjust to insist on more. The Old Irish were most anxious for my coming, supposing that I was charged to reject every peace, and to urge the continuance of war. I have had great difficulty in persuading them of the contrary,

and getting rid of the solicitations of those who have taken it into their heads that I have brought money to raise a pontifical army, not to fight the Puritans, but rather to repudiate without consideration every treaty or agreement with the king. As for the Moderns, they cared little for my coming, knowing, as they do, that I could not accept such peace as they desire, but only that which would satisfy the really good. Hence, individuals of that faction, hoping to depreciate me, gave out that I had come to take temporal possession of Ireland for the pope, and that Father Scarampo had come before me to see how that could be effected. Finally, the Old Irish have set their hearts on the splendour of religion, and the Moderns on gratifying and exalting Lord Ormond. As to him, I have to inform you, that he abjured the religion of his ancestors, and was brought up a Protestant in the house of the archbishop of Canterbury. He has at various times held military command for the king, and having been raised to the viceroyalty, his government of the country has given satisfaction to most people. Gifted with attractive manners, and skilled in concealing his projects, he has got credit for profound sagacity—holding out promises to his friends, and making himself agreeable to every one besides. Withal, we have reason to fear that if the king be not rid of his embarrassments, he (Ormond) regardless of his allegiance and duty, will energetically oppose any peace that is not negotiated and sanctioned by himself, even though it were signed by his majesty's hand. Revolving in my own mind what side he'd be likely to take, provided the king were defeated hopelessly, I have seized every opportunity when discoursing with those who might report my words to him, to say how well it would

beseem him to declare himself a Catholic instead of going over—as rumour would have it—to the Puritans. Such an act as that would cover him with infamy, and prove that he was not true to his prince; whereas, by declaring himself a Catholic, along with the happiness of embracing the true faith, he would secure the protection of the Holy Father and other orthodox princes, nay, and in this country, a large following ready to carry out his wishes. Do not blame me for insinuating a holy resolution with arguments based on material interests, for I am certain that there is no other way of winning his soul. Then, again, I find that the inclinations towards catholicity, for which he got credit in Rome, and which are mentioned in my Instructions, are not true; and that he has frequently said he never could believe in the real presence, or in the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. Let me add, that those whom my Instructions name as the proper persons to bring about his conversion cannot undertake such task; for the bishop of Ossory, now extremely old, seldom leaves his house, and Viscount Mountgarret—also advanced in years—has no ability in that direction. As for his brother, Richard Butler, his nature is so gentle that he pities the Marquess and prays for him, but has not heart to counsel or win him over.*

“Such is the man most trusted by the faction in the Supreme Council, of which Muskerrey, a kinsman of his, is the leader. All the Butlers follow him, and so does the Mountgarret family, to say nothing of Clanricarde, Thomond, and many Leinster gentlemen, partizans of the great house of Ormond. Having said so much of

* When the Nunzio was penning this report two of Ormond's sisters were cloistered nuns in Kilkenny.

the political state of Ireland, I will not enter into a relation of minor matters, but rather repeat that the aim of the Marquess's adherents is to raise him to a position from which he can rule the country at will, and—the oath of Association notwithstanding—submit to his arbitrament the question of the free and open exercise of the Catholic religion.

“From what I have stated it is easy to perceive that the military department is governed by influences like those of which I have already spoken. It is quite certain that if the confederates at the commencement of the war had possessed themselves of all the strong places in the kingdom—Dublin especially—they now would be masters of the situation, holding, according to the oath of association, all such places for the king, and keeping out the Puritans. Had they acted thus, they would have served their cause more effectively than they have done by cessations, despite which they have been called rebels by his majesty, and by all the English. But the Ormond faction, partly on pretence of neutrality, and partly to gratify the Marquess, from time to time introduced cessations which damaged the commonweal, because they blocked the road to victory, chilled public enthusiasm, and consumed resources that should have been employed for the overthrow of the Puritans. Nor should I omit mentioning that the Marquess, during those three years of cessations, got in all his rents, which, but for those truces, would now be in possession of the Irish, and might perhaps have terminated the war. Those at the head of the ministry of war desiring the conclusion of Lord Ormond's peace, would elevate him to the generalship of the army, and thus give him credit for

whatsoever successes it might achieve. But there lack not other abuses in this department, where there never has been a council of war to look in time to the strengthening of fortresses and provisioning of garrisons. These matters, indeed, instead of being anticipated, have been overlooked, till necessity compelled attention. Then, again, money, which constitutes the sinews of war, has been wasted on extortioners and dishonest officials, so much so, that the treasurers have never been called to account, and the soldiers often left without their pay. Then, as to the quartering of the army in the provinces, I think it highly prejudicial that the council should not have power to send their generals wherever they wish, instead of suffering each of them to command in his own province, from which he is irremovable, be the complaint what it may. There they rule with a high hand, more like masters than generals, making the forces under them subservient to their particular interests and caprices. As an illustration of this I may instance the unfortunate affair of Youghal, which might have been taken a year ago for the confederates if Preston and Castlehaven had not fallen out, the latter vaunting that the not storming that city would surely of itself compel the adoption of Lord Ormond's peace. But far more lamentable, during the last two years, has been the condition of Ulster, where, owing to the almost irreconcilable antipathies of Owen and Phelim O'Neill—(both claiming the earldom of Tyrone—the direct line having become extinct in the person of the late earl*)—and other private divergences, the enemy has made himself master of

* John, son of Hugh, killed in Spain.

the whole province, two counties excepted. In Connaught it was necessary that the archbishop should take the command, simply because Clancarde, a native of the province, would not abandon his neutrality. Finally, in Leinster, where we have no enemy but Ormond and the Protestants, every one knows that the garrisons do little else than provide food for their adversaries and gather in the Marquess's rents. A sad state of things this, and all the more so as the soldiers are undoubtedly brave, and their leaders, O'Neill and Preston, highly distinguished officers, the former having had many years' service in Flanders, and the latter made famous by Eric Van den Putte, for his defence of Louvain* against the French. And here I may not omit to commend the wisdom of his Holiness, who would not allow me to bring hither general Pallavicino, whose appearance would have provoked jealousies and suspicions.

"I now pass to the ecclesiastical aspect of the country, which is the principal object of my nuntiature. Nor can I set about this without regretting that I have found it infected by the contagion that has poisoned the other two departments. The old bishops, accustomed to perform their few functions in secret, attach little importance to the splendour of religion, alleging that this would involve considerable outlay, which should rather be given for the prosecution of the war in the present unsettled state of the country. Hence it is that they abhor costume and ceremonies,† nearly all of them celebrating like ordinary priests, and admin-

* The late Judge Bindon has given an admirable account of the siege in the first volume of Dr. French's Works.— Dublin : J. Duffy and Sons, 15 Wellington Quay.

† "Aborimento agli abiti ed alle ceremonie."

istering confirmation without mitre or vestments, and in almost ordinary lay apparel. Men of this stamp would be quite satisfied if the King and the Marquess would grant them free exercise (although not open) of religion, to save, as they say, the substance of Faith, without getting themselves into trouble. I have discovered these shortcomings in the old bishops, who have lived in the time of suppressions and terror; but as for the young prelates, such as Ferns,* Clogher, and the coadjutor† of Limerick, who have lit upon happier times, they are not deficient in either frankness or independence.

“Lamentable as the condition of the majority of the bishops is, that of the Regulars is far more so. They are accustomed to live outside their convents, wear secular apparel, and act as well paid chaplains to the nobility of the island. Men, such as those, have no desire for a peace that would bring along with it the restoration of ecclesiastical vigour and deprive them of all the foresaid exemptions. Hence, in their coteries, they strive to persuade the weak-minded people that, circumstanced as the king is, nothing should be demanded of him in the matter of religion save what he could reasonably grant; and some of them have dared to preach this from their pulpits, rashly asserting that possession of the churches is nowise necessary for the substance of the faith, since the Old Testament shows that the Jews, for centuries, had no temple; and the New, that our Lord instituted the Eucharist in a private house. And if some persons had not gone to the trouble of contradicting all this, the

* Nicholas French, c. 1643, d. 1678.

† E. O'Dwyer, coadjutor from 1645 to 1654, when Richard Arthur died.

lower orders of the people would be lastingly impressed by such erroneous teaching, the individual who could have Mass celebrated under his own roof caring little for any other mode of adoration, so much so, that up to the present I have not been able to introduce the usage of carrying the holy sacrament processionally from the churches to the sick, or to have the consecrated particles kept in the Tabernacles, since each one—no matter how humble his position*—must, during illness, have Mass said at his bed-side, and often on the very table on which—after the removal of the altar-clothes—playing cards, jugs of beer, and the dinner viands are set down. It may be that the very ample authority hitherto enjoyed by the Regulars as Missionaries—authority in some respects equal to, if not exceeding that of the Apostolic Nunzio—may have caused this disorder which only can be remedied by a good peace. Furthermore, every day's experience teaches me how reluctant they (the Regulars) are, to wear their respective habits, even in places where they would be perfectly safe, alleging such frivolous excuses as want of convents, journeys through the country, and various engagements—frivolous excuses, indeed, which are not calculated to edify the people at large.

“I may also observe that no other nation in Europe is less given to industry, or more phlegmatic than this; for the people are quite satisfied with what nature dictates and does for them, and, consequently give themselves little concern about the amelioration of ecclesiastical or secular matters. They exhibit nothing like enthusiasm regarding either, and little resentment when things turn out

* “Ogni vilissimo artefice.”

contrary to their desires and intent. All this may be accounted for by coldness of climate, thickness of blood, but, above all, by the long oppression* of the English, whose iron rule interdicted all industrial pursuits, nay, and deprived the Irish of every opportunity of acquiring knowledge. Hence, contenting themselves with hearing Mass in a cabin, and living on what the soil produces without labour or sweat, they have imbibed frigid spirits,† and accommodate themselves to the circumstances of the time. Hence, too, in all that regards the churches, ceremonies, ecclesiastical ornaments, nay, and every thing that demands hard application, there is perceptible lack of anything above ordinary attention. Nevertheless, when properly instructed, or placed betimes in some responsible position, they do not deviate from the path upon which they have entered, but rather appreciate it. And in illustration of this I may instance the conduct of the nuns, whose observance of inclosure, choir, and discipline, is as exact as it was in earliest times; and the like might be expected from the bishops, parish priests, and Regulars, if they were duly admonished and compelled to tread the straight road of ecclesiastical duty. This is certain, that the washing of the feet on last Maundy-Thursdays,‡ so impressed the people, that some of them were heard to say, such a sight, of itself, would suffice to keep the Catholic religion for ever in the kingdom, and stimulate the people to defend it."

As a sequel to this faithful picture of the state of Ireland when the Nunzio landed on our shores, we

* "Vincoli di vassallaggio."

† "Spiriti freddi."

‡ "Lavanda de' piedi."

may not forget his bold and praiseworthy opposition to those members of the Supreme Council who presumed to nominate bishops to Sees then vacant in Ireland. In this most important matter he was ably assisted by the four metropolitans—O'Reilly,* archbishop of Armagh, especially—who complained that such presentments had been made without their knowledge or consent. As for the primate, he orally and otherwise implored the Nunzio to not recommend any subject to the Holy See without consulting him as to the capacity of the candidates, and their antecedents. The Nunzio duly appreciating all this, agreed with the generality of the bishops who thought it unwise to advance so many friars to the episcopal dignity, seeing that in Ireland as well as in Italy, they were theologians and not canonists, and consequently had little experience in governing churches in *foro externo*, and that at a time when he was about to convoke a National Synod, and enforce formally the Council of Trent, whose decrees required subjects versed in canon law. Then, again, he suggested to the Holy See, that when a diocese became widowed, the person elected should be a native of the same province, and, wherever possible, of the same diocese; a wise provision, warmly approved by the old prelates, who had reason to remember the inconveniences caused by such men as Creagh†

* C. 1627, d. 1651.

† Archbishop Creagh died in the Tower, London, notwithstanding his endeavours to make a loyal subject of Shane O'Neill, who burnt Armagh Cathedral after hearing his Grace belaud Queen Elizabeth. As for Primate Lombard, he never set foot in Ulster, and died in the neighbourhood of Rome. Most Rev. Dr. Moran's "Spicilegium" abounds with interesting notices of these two prelates.

and Lombard, who, although natives of the South of Ireland, were advanced to the primatial see. Reverting to those nominated by the Supreme Council, we may add, that they were one and all partizans of Lord Ormond, and, as such, properly set aside by the Nunzio, who, in this instance, proved himself the precursor of a truly illustrious archbishop of Dublin, who, in his day, intrigue and Italian obsequiousness notwithstanding, asserted and preserved the independence of the Irish Hierarchy.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY in January, 1646, the two commissioners who had accompanied Glamorgan returned in hot haste from Dublin to Kilkenny, with tidings that on St. Stephen's day, he had been arrested by order of Ormond, and committed close prisoner to the castle on a charge of high treason. Had the fleet of the parliament anchored in the bay, it could not have caused greater alarm than that which was simulated by Ormond and his partizans on this occasion. The gates of the city were closed, and none were permitted to depart save the confederate commissioners. They, too, had been brought to the castle, and were there informed that they had reason to congratulate themselves on their escape from the penalties which were in store for the unfortunate earl. "You must know," said Digby, Ormond's mouthpiece on this occasion, "that a document* has lately come to my hands, which was

* A copy of all the papers found on the person of the archbishop of Tuam, when killed at Sligo by the Scots, was

found on the person of the archbishop of Tuam, slain at Sligo two months ago by the Scots. This paper, signed by the archbishop of Cashel, certifies that it is a true copy, and runs thus:—
“Whereas much time hath been spent in meetings betwixt his Excellencie Marquess of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, commissioner to his most excellent majesty, Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, for the concluding of a peace in the said kingdome between his majestie’s humble and loyall subjects, the confederate Roman Catholiques of the said kingdome of Ireland, of the one part, and the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Muskery, and other commissioners deputed and authorised by the said confederate Roman Catholique, of the other part; and thereupon many difficulties did arise, by sundry matters of great weight necessarily requisite to be condescended unto by his majestie’s said commissioner, for the safety of the said confederate Catholiques were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the conclusion of a firm peace in the said kingdome. And whereas Edward Earl of Glamorgan is intrusted and authorized by his majestie to grant and insure to the said confederate Catholique subjects further graces and favours which the said lord lieutenant did not, as yet, in that latitude as they expected grant unto them. And the said earl having seriously considered of all matters, and due circumstances of the great affairs now in agitation, which is the peace and quiet of the said kingdome, and the importance thereof in

forwarded to England, and published by order of the parliament, under the title of “The Earl of Glamorgan’s Negotiations and Colourable Commitment in Ireland.”

his majestie's service, and heretupon the having seene the ardent desire of the said Catholiques to assist his majestie against all that oppose his royall right or monarchique government, and having discerned the alacrity and cheerfulness of the said Roman Catholiques to embrace honourable conditions of peace, which may preserve their religion, and other just interests; in pursuance thereof in the twentieth of his reign, granted unto said Earle the following commission:—Charles, by the grace of God, king of England and Ireland, defender of the faith, To our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, Edward Earle of Glamorgan, greeting. Wee, reposing great and especiall trust and confidence in your wisdom and fidelity, doe by these (as firmly as under our great seal, to all intents and purpose) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholiques in Ireland, if upon necessitie anything be to be condescended unto, wherein our lord lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at this present publicly to owne, and therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant, with all possible secrecie; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, upon such valuable considerations, as you in your judgment shall deeme fit, we promise on the word of a king and a Christian, to ratifie and performe the same that shall be granted by you, and under your hand and seal, the said confederate Catholics having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service: and this shall bee in each particular to you a sufficient warrant. It is therefore granted and agreed, by and betweene the said Earle of Glamorgan, for and on the behalf of his majestie, his heirs and successors on the one part, and

Richard Viscount Mountgarret, president of the Supreme Council of the said confederates, and the said Donnogh Viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnell and Nicholas Plunket, Esquires; Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet; Dermid O'Brian, Jo. Dillon; Patrick Darcy, and Jeffrey Browne, Esquires; commissioners in that behalf appointed by the said confederate subjects of Ireland, for and in the behalf of the said confederate Roman Catholiques of the other part, and in manner following:—An act shall be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdome, and that said act shall repeal the ordinances of the second of Elizabeth, and abolish all restraints and penalties laid upon professors of the Catholic religion, for exercise of their religion to the trouble and disquiet of the Catholics in their liberties and estates; for remedy whereof, and for the better feeling, and continuance of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdome of Ireland, his majestie at the humble suit and request of the lords and commons in this present parliament, is graciously pleased that it may be enacted, that from and after the first day of this session of parliament, it shall be lawful for the professors of the Roman Catholique religion, of what degree soever, to enjoy the free and publike exercise and profession of the said Roman Catholique religion, and of their severall and respective functions therein, without incurring any mulct and penalty whatsoever, or being subject to any restraint or incapacity concerning the same, any other act of parliament to the contrary notwithstanding. And be it also further enacted, that neither the said statute or any other statute, heretofore made in your majestie's raigne, or in any of the raigne of any of your highnesse's progenitors, and now of force in this

kingdome, nor any branch, clause, or sentence in them contained and expressed, shall be of force in this realme, to be adjudged to extend in anywise to disquiet or prejudice the professors of the said Roman Catholique religion, in their persons, lands, hereditaments, or goods, for any matter or cause whatsoever, touching the free and publique use, exercise and enjoying of their sayd religion, function, and profession. And be it also further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid that your majestie's Roman Catholique subjects in the said realme of Ireland from the first day of this session shall be deemed capable of all offices of trust, and advancement, places, degrees, and dignities, and preferments whatsoever within your said realme of Ireland, any act or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

“It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the said Lord Glamorgan, on behalf of his majestie, his heirs, and successors: that the Lord Marquess of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, or others authorized by his majestie, shall not disturbe the professors of the Roman Catholique religion in their present possession, and continuance of the possession of their said churches, jurisdiction, or other matters aforesaid in these articles agreed and consented unto by the said Earle, untill his majestie's pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the grounds and agreements hereby articted for, and condescended unto by the said Earle. And the said Earle doth hereby ingage his majestie's royall and publique faith unto all the professors of the said Roman Catholique religion in the said kingdome of Ireland, for the due observance and performance of all and every the articles, grounds, and clauses, herein contained,

and the concessions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

"It is agreed that the publique faith of the kingdome shall be engaged unto the said Earle by the said confederate Catholiques for sending 10,000 men to serve his majestie, by order of the generall assembly now sitting: and the Supreme Councell of the said confederate Catholiques shall engage themselves to bring the said number of men armed, the one half with musketts, and the other half with pikes, unto any port within this realme within the election of the said Earle, and at such time as he shall appoint to be by him transported to serve his majestie in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the said Earle of Glamorgan, as lord generall of the said army; which army is to be kept together in one entire body, and all other the said officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the Supreme Councell of the said confederate Catholiques, or by such others as the severall assembly of the said confederate Catholiques of this kingdome shall entrust therewith. In witness whereof the parties of these presents have interchangeably put their hands and seals the 25th day of August, 1645."*

Having read the document aloud, Digby† as-

* The signatories were Glamorgan, Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, and Patrick Comerford, of Waterford and Lismore—the latter was c. 1629, and d. 1652. See "Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century" for an ample memoir of this distinguished prelate.

† "George, Lord Digby, secretary to the king, betrayed his trust and went over to the Parliament. Arriving in Dublin he became god-father to Ormond's son, christened under the name of Digby Butler. This Digby left no stone unturned to hinder Glamorgan's proceedings with the Catholics. . . . went now and then to Kilkenny

serted that it was either counterfeited or obtained surreptitiously, and simulating indignation, told the commissioners that their offer of subsidies, on the terms they proposed, should be scornfully rejected. "And for my part," continued he, "sooner than counsel his majesty to accept your assistance on the conditions you have made with Glamorgan, I would sacrifice the lives of my wife and children. Go back to Kilkenny, and inform the president of the assembly that the Protestants of England would fling the king out at his window, if they believed it possible that he lent himself to such a proceeding."

Immediately calling together the few whose duty detained them in the city, the Nunzio endeavoured to ascertain from them what they thought, and how they should proceed in such an emergency. All of them protested vehemently against the outrage inflicted on Glamorgan; and some were of opinion that they ought to march on Dublin, and demand his liberation from an unjust imprisonment, which they regarded as an insult put upon themselves. Far from regarding Glamorgan's powers as either arrogated or counterfeited, they avowed their belief that he had been commissioned by the king to treat with them, and that the conditions on which they had agreed could not but be pleasing to his majesty, since they stipulated nothing that they had not a right to demand. Five of the chiefest of them waited on the Nunzio in his own house, to learn from him what supplies he could give in case they

to infuse those things into the ears of such as he knew were willing to embrace the same, as instructed in Dublin. This man and Taaffe, as postilions betwixt Kilkenny and Dublin, brought all the secrets of the Confederate Council to Ormond."—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 99.

came to a resolution to besiege Dublin—an enterprise which he anxiously desired—but on learning from him that he could not give an exact account of what money he had at his disposal until his agent, Invernizi, returned from Flanders, where he was sent to purchase frigates, their ardour began to cool. Mountgarret and Muskerry gave a different version of the arrest, and, in their exaggerated estimate of Ormond's probity, sought to screen him from any suspicion that might reflect on his honour and loyalty. But all their efforts notwithstanding, a great number of the confederates were for active measures and fully satisfied with the answer they subsequently received from the Nunzio, who asserted that he would willingly undertake to defray all expenses of a campaign in any of the four provinces, provided they assured him that it would realize the peace on which they had agreed. This, indeed, was pleasing news to prelates and people, who had long ceased to have any reliance on Ormond's promises; but the section which was now known as the Ormondist party, laboured energetically to stifle the popular sentiment, and insisted on having the whole question submitted to the general assembly. This project had not the concurrence of bishops or laity; and although the truce with Ormond could not expire till the middle of January, they maintained that the recent transactions absolved them from observing it. There were, of the confederates, some who did not hesitate to avow that, in case of hostility, the marquess would make terms with the parliamentarians, and turn all his powers against the assembly; but whether this might have been the case or not, it is certain that if they had marched on Dublin, it could not have stood a siege

of eight days, open as it was to attack, and the castle* without means of holding out against a vigorous assault. Meanwhile the Nunzio wrote to the English Queen and Cardinal Mazarin, informing them of Glamorgan's arrest, and deploring the state of insecurity into which the artifices of Ormond had drawn the Irish people. In his letter to Henrietta Maria, he assured her of the devotedness of the Irish Catholics to the royal cause, and lamented the interruption which the expedition under the command of Glamorgan had met, by reason of his imprisonment.

According to their resolution, the assembly of the confederates met at Kilkenny early in January. The prelates and clergy approached the meeting with a feeling of hostility to Ormond, which was exasperated by his recent proceedings; and now that Glamorgan's peace had been set aside, they forecasted that the lord lieutenant would propose terms which they could not conscientiously accept.

Their first act was to write to Ormond threatening to suspend all further negotiation if Glamorgan was not immediately enlarged. The release of the prisoner, they said, was absolutely necessary for the relief of Chester. Three thousand men were ready to embark,† and only waited the transports; all was at a stand by his imprisonment, and further delay compromised the king. Sir Robert Talbot, the bearer of this letter, reached Dublin on the 22nd of January, when the Privy Council

* At this moment Ormond was in concert with Munro in the north, and in great want of provisions, and the castle, which at that time was the principal magazine of Ireland, had not arms or food to resist a protracted siege.—*Rinuccini's Corresp.*

† These troops had been drawn out of the armies in the three provinces.

issued an order for the earl's release, bail, to the amount of forty thousand pounds sterling, having been given by Lord Kildare and the Marquess of Clanricarde.* Nor need we wonder that Ormond thus hastily dismissed the man whom he impeached of high treason, for he was a party to the collusion, and professed himself quite satisfied with Glamorgan's commission, which had subjoined to it a *defeasance* or *starting hole*,* stipulating that the king should be no further bound than he himself should think fit, after he had witnessed the efforts of the Irish Catholics in his favour. Nothing can be more clear than that the whole transaction was meant to mystify the English Protestants and delude the Irish Catholics.

On his release, Glamorgan proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was received by the assembly; and it is remarkable that, on his arrival there, instead of denouncing Ormond's conduct, he commended it, declaring that, under the circumstances, he could not have acted otherwise. But these professions were far from satisfying the Nunzio and prelates, who concluded that there was something fraudulent in the transaction, and thereon resolved to receive thenceforth with greater caution any proposal that Glamorgan might hold out to them.

The assembly was now more unhappily divided, the clergy being obstinately opposed to any peace which did not secure the free and open exercise of the Catholic religion. Their oath of association, they asserted, bound them to iden-

* He was also bound to appear before the board within thirty days after notice.

† The Nunzio seems to have been ignorant of this subterfuge.

tify the interests of religion with the support of the king: nor would they accede to any terms which did not stipulate the restoration of all the cathedral and parochial churches, with their revenues; while, on the other hand, the lords and gentlemen of the Pale insisted on a peace, which would commit this question to the ulterior decision of the king, and leave them free to succour him at once. They contended, moreover that the articles of Glamorgan's private treaty (provided it was a *bona fide* transaction) were ample, and in every respect satisfactory; but the recent imprisonment of the earl had shaken the confidence of the clergy and they began to regard the devotedness of Muskerry and Mountgarret to the interests of Ormond as the necessary consequence of their kinsmanship to him. So generally did this feeling of distrust pervade the popular classes, that Mac Mahon, bishop of Clogher, was obliged to write to the Ulster leaders, rebuking them for having determined to send no contingent to the troops intended for Chester. These divisions were nothing less than the reflex of popular feeling. The old nobility, slighted by Ormond, and excluded from any participation in the management of the treaty, had identified themselves with the clergy, and declared they would rather risk civil war than accept what they termed an ignominious peace. As for the nobility and gentry of the Pale, they were chiefly concerned for the security of their temporalities and the mere toleration of religion, beside which they had nothing in common with the old Celtic population, and so deeply rooted was the aversion of the latter to the king's representative, that they hailed the Nunzio's arrival as that of a general who was to raise the pontifical standard,

and lead them against him and the Puritans, whom they identified as common enemies to their creed and country. The Nunzio spared no pains to efface this erroneous impression, denied that he had come to make Ireland a fief to the Vatican, and proclaimed that his Holiness was far more interested for the king than those pretended friends who had circulated such slanders. But the moderate party was determined to conclude a peace with Ormond, and in order to swell the number of their votes, caused ex-officio members to be elected to the council. This informality, however, could not produce the desired effect, for the clergy were determined, if they could not prevent the publication, at least to have it postponed. They contended that Glamorgan's treaty was not to be depended on, as it contained no positive guarantee for its fulfilment, and that his promises were dependent on two contingencies: the good will of a capricious monarch, and his ability to realize them. Moreover, the Earl could not be regarded as an agent free to treat on behalf of his majesty, inasmuch as he was bound to appear before the council board within thirty days after notice, so that they knew not how soon he might be summoned, and obliged to leave the treaty without the royal sanction. On the other side it was as vehemently argued that Ormond's powers to treat with the confederates, should expire on the first of April, and in case they could not conclude with him, the king might revoke his commission, and thus deprive the country of such an advantage. They also alleged, on the lord lieutenant's behalf, that if the treaty was concluded, he would join with the confederates in expelling the Puritans, and that the Marquess of

Clanricarde would come to their aid. A more urgent argument advanced by the Ormondist party was, that if, instead of a peace, they made only a truce, the soldiers who were destined for Chester, might refuse to march, fearing that on landing they would be treated as rebels by the royal troops. But these arguments were strenuously combated by the clergy, who insisted that it was easy for the Marquess of Ormond to procure a renewal of his patent, and would not believe that the royal troops would treat the Irish soldiers as rebels.

Whilst these discussions were pending, an incident occurred which was calculated to confirm the clergy in their opposition to Ormond's peace. The Nunzio exhibited letters which were despatched from Rome early in November, informing him that a treaty was about to be concluded between the pope and the queen of England, on behalf of the Irish Catholics, and that Sir Kenelm Digby, the queen's agent at the Vatican, had been fully empowered to make terms for the Irish Catholics, which, as they had received the sanction of the Holy Father, could not but be highly advantageous and honourable. This treaty comprised the English Catholics, and should of course stimulate them to more strenuous efforts in the king's cause. It would appear that the president of the supreme council had information of these proceedings at Rome, but as if attaching little or no importance to it, he did not divulge the intelligence to the council. In fact Muskerry and Mountgarret affected to believe that the negotiation was nothing but a delusion, invented to delay the publication of the peace with Ormond, and Leyburn, one of her majesty's English chaplains, denounced it as non-existent, and thereon was sharply rebuked by

the Nunzio. Notwithstanding this acrimonious controversy, the latter induced the bishops to sign an agreement, by which they bound themselves to accept no terms but those agreed upon in the pontifical treaty, and at same time caused Glamorgan to promise that instead of insisting on his own private treaty, he would accept that sanctioned by the Holy Father, since it would unbeseem him—a true son of the Church—to put his peace in competition with that approved by the pope; and he therefore should wait for the original from Rome.

On the seventh of February, the Nunzio announced to the assembly that nothing could be more commendable than the queen's negotiation with his Holiness, who, to show his affection for the English Catholics, had bestowed on Sir Kenelm Digby a large sum for the king's maintenance. He then produced the draft of a treaty which had not as yet been signed, and stated that the Pontiff was disposed to contribute one hundred thousand crowns annually for the support of the royal troops, until the king in a free parliament would be able to repeal all penal laws enacted against his Irish and English Catholic subjects. "On the word of a prince," he said, "I assure you that this treaty, duly signed, may soon be expected, for it is more than probable that Sir Kenelm Digby is now on his way to England."

Meanwhile, the lord lieutenant's partizans in the assembly insisted on the immediate conclusion of a peace that would leave them free to send supplies to the king; and after a debate extending over five days, the articles of Glamorgan's treaty, modified and reduced to thirty, were signed by

* The Nunzio was prince of Fermo.

Ormond for the king, and by Lord Muskerry and five other commissioners for the Confederates. At same time was signed a conditional obligation whereby the confederates engaged to send 10,000 infantry to England and Wales; 6,000 by April 1st, and 4,000 by May 1st following; and until the men were shipped said articles were to be deposited in the hands of lord Clanricarde, and not to be of force or published until 1st May, nor then unless upon sending of the men. And in case said forces were not sent (unless hindered by reasonable cause), said articles to be of no effect, and their counterparts returned to the respective parties. This treaty conceded some of the claims insisted upon by the Irish Catholics,—among others, exemption from being obliged to take the oath of supremacy expressed in the second of Elizabeth; a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, constituted wholly of confederates; revocation of the plantation of Connaught, Kilkenny, Clare, Thomond, Tipperary, Limerick, and Wicklow; the erection of one or more inns of court in or near Dublin, as also one or more universities, and also schools for education of youth. This treaty lacked many of the conditions on which the Nunzio and the majority of the prelates insisted; for in February preceding he caused the bishops to sign a protest against any contract that did not guarantee the free exercise of religion, restoration of church property, and the appointment of a Catholic lord lieutenant in succession to Ormond. The Nunzio could not consistently assent to a peace, which instead of providing for what he had set his heart upon—"The splendour of religion"—remitted that vital subject to the future consideration of the king's majesty. The outcome of all these cabala

and intrigues was to leave the Irish Catholics in the anomalous condition of an alliance with the king through his private agent (Glamorgan), and of suspended hostility through the Irish viceroy.

Before breaking up, the general assembly passed two resolutions, which were meant to expedite business and remove abuses. By the first it was resolved that for the future the Supreme Council should be reduced to nine members ; that is to say, two from each province, who, with the secretary, made nine. This was found to be a matter of great advantage, as much inconvenience was the result of the great number who sat in their former assemblies. The second resolution ordained that the clergy should furnish through their own hands, two-thirds of the church revenues for the maintenance of the war, as many frauds resulted from a system which, in this particular, needed reform.

The members of the Supreme Council remained at Kilkenny, and the Nunzio, in a council of the bishops, set about remedying the deplorable state to which the country had been reduced by armistices, and jealousies of the contending parties. The adherents of Ormond more intent on sending supplies to England than providing for the wants of the country, and the time they consumed disputing in their coteries, had been turned to good account by Munro in the north, and Coote, parliamentary lord president of Connaught. The Nunzio urged the Supreme Council to establish a council of war, to which all generals and officers commanding the confederate troops should be amenable ; for, hitherto, the superior, as well as inferior officers, had been elected by their respective provinces. As for Clanrickarde, the Nunzio hoped that he would, sooner

or later, induce him to join the confederates, but, as he persisted in his neutrality, the command in Connaught devolved on the heroic Bourke, who had already distinguished himself in that province. Preston, who commanded in Leinster, did not stand very high in the Nunzio's estimation; for, although a distinguished soldier, he had met signal defeats since his arrival in Ireland, and, worst of all, he detested the Ulstermen, who, in his eyes, were little less than outer barbarians. Again, his dislike to Owen Roe was another reason for distrusting him; for although both had served under the same standard in the Low Countries, they esteemed each other lightly—O'Neill setting no value on the ability of the Leinster general, who rarely lost an opportunity of disparaging his Celtic rival. Nor should it be forgotten that at this moment Ulster was harried by the Scotch under Munro; and that the pretensions of Owen and Phelim O'Neill* to the earldom of Tyrone aggravated this lamentable complication. As for Munster, it was almost entirely reduced by Inchiquin, and the defection of Lord Thomond, to say nothing of the traitorous conduct of Castlehaven, who, to gratify Lord Ormond, did not take Youghal or the other southern towns he was commissioned to capture. The fortress of Duncannon† too, had been almost totally neglected; and, although it commanded the entrance to Wexford and Ross, the conflicts in the Assembly and

* Sir Phelim O'Neill was married to Preston's daughter, and Henry, son of Owen Roe, to the daughter of Sir Luke Fitzgerald.

† "After surrender of Duncannon, Thomas Roche, captain of foot, was left there with his company. A native of Co. Wexford, he was a real servitor, and most constant in his principles according to his oath of association, and continued so without blemish to his dying day."—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 105.

Supreme Council prevented them from having it efficiently garrisoned and provisioned.

Before distributing the arms which had been brought from Kenmare to Kilkenny, he submitted to the council a plan of campaign, and suggested that they ought make Ulster the seat of war, because of its vicinity to Scotland, and because its inhabitants were more fervently devoted to the ancient religion than those of the other provinces. Then, again, he insisted that it was their duty to expel Munro, whose forces occupied some of the chiefest strongholds in Ulster, and were daily committing unparalleled excesses there. But a more powerful reason was, the superior soldiership of Owen O'Neill, and the prestige of his name. Furthermore, the wants of those who were then crowding to that general's standard were easily satisfied, for, being accustomed to hardships from their childhood, and habituated to the frosts and snows of that glacial northern climate, they were hardy, and able to endure privations with marvellous patience; caring little for bread, they lived on trefoil, butter, and milk, and were very fond of brandy, which to them was a luxury. Scant raiment did they need, for a pair of brogues and a cloak sufficed for people of their sort, who cared more for a sword and musket than for personal comforts. Then, again, they set little value on money, and in this respect contrasted strongly with Preston's Leinster soldiers, who served for pay regulated according to the Flemish tariff.

As matter of course Mountgarret and Muskerry did not approve the Nunzio's partiality and preference for the men of Ulster; nor were they conscious of the real condition of that province,

until a crowd of fugitives driven across the border by Munro's troops took shelter under the walls of Kilkenny, and foreshadowed what was likely to befall themselves if they did not take speedy measures to crush the Scotch Covenanters. Influenced by these considerations the Nunzio resolved to give Owen Roe all the moneys, arms, and munitions he had at his disposal, but, on reflection, and to obviate jealousies, he consented, reluctantly indeed, to bestow two-thirds of same on General Preston, the Council at same time advancing £3,000 to Lord Ormond, who promised to march to the east of Ulster, and there attack Munro. But of all his achievements at this period, that which gave the Nunzio greatest pleasure was the reconciliation of Sir Phelim O'Neill and his illustrious kinsman, who, at his instance, agreed to leave their respective claims to the earldom of Tyrone in abeyance until their united efforts should have secured peace and the triumph of religion. Overjoyed at this event he predicted to the assembly that the enemy should soon be swept out of Ulster, and the cathedral of Armagh restored to the ancient worship.

Nor was the solicitude of the Nunzio and the confederates for the king's relief diminished by the more urgent exigencies of Ireland, for, by order of the Supreme Council, 4,000 men were drawn out of the standing armies of Leinster and Munster, and 2,000 more out of the other provinces; a day being appointed for their embarkation at Passage, in the County of Waterford, and conveyance to England. And that this might be done with greater expedition an embargo was laid on all vessels in the river of Waterford and in the harbours of Wexford and Dungarvan.

But when everything promised fair, intelligence was brought to Glamorgan that the king had disavowed him; and soon after came news of the capture of Chester by the parliament. There was now no place where the Irish could land on the English coast, and they returned to their quarters in Clonmel and Cashel; three hundred of them took service under Lord Digby, as a body guard for the Prince of Wales, who it was said had taken refuge in Jersey; and a hundred were told off to garrison some of the Scilly Islands, and facilitate communication between Ireland and the Continent. It was thought that the remainder would return with the Prince of Wales to Ireland; but his advisers objecting to such a step, he fled to the queen, then in Paris, whither he was speedily followed by Lord Digby, who left the Irish soldiers to shift for themselves. Digby, whom the queen received with flattering assurances of regard for himself and Ormond, denounced the pretensions of the Irish who would not accept the latter's terms, and contrived to get from Cardinal Mazarin 10,000 pistoles to enable him to satisfy his Protestant officers, and displace those whom he distrusted. The queen, who would not hear of the prince's landing in Ireland, promised further sums, and declared that she would not allow Sir Kenelm Digby to hearken to any thing on the subject of the pontifical treaty, as the business of Ireland was already in hands best able to manage it, and that whatever was sought for should not be expected from any one but the lord lieutenant.

The promise made to the Nunzio of waiting until the 1st of May for the arrival of Sir Kenelm Digby—who did not come—caused the commis

sioners, when signing the peace on the 28th March, to agree that it should lie in the hands of Clanricarde, until the ten thousand men were sent to England, and it should be thought proper to proclaim the peace, but now that the time had elapsed, the Supreme Council sent Mr. Plunket to Dublin to announce to Ormond the impossibility of despatching the troops for which they had stipulated. He was also instructed to desire the lord lieutenant to declare his judgment of such impossibility in writing, according to the provision of the defeasance ; to proclaim the necessity of the union of the entire nation ; and in case the publication of the contents of his peace was deemed necessary for that end, he (Plunket) should, at same time, insist on the publication of Glamorgan's peace, for fear of a rupture among themselves, and to prevent the stopping of foreign supplies. But if his excellency did not think the present the opportune moment for proclaiming the peace, Mr. Plunket was to beseech him to act as a peer of the realm, in the projected campaign against the Scots in Ulster now that the Laggan forces under Sir Charles Coote had entered the Counties of Roscommon and Galway, with the intention of levying supplies for victualling Bunratty. Fearing, however, that he was not strong enough to force his way into Thomond, Coote contented himself with firing the crops about Portumna and Loughrea, and then retraced his steps northwards with large pryse of corn and cattle.

Exasperated by Coote's merciless raids, Clanricarde appealed to Ormond for redress, and called on him to proclaim Sir Charles and his adherents traitors and rebels, but Ormond replied that the Privy Council in Dublin could not entertain such a

proposal, as the majority of them, and himself in particular, had no desire to offend the English parliament or provoke its hostility. Thus, when it was believed that he would take the field against the Scots, as he had promised, the confederates discovered that he had no intention of doing so, and that his real object was to delude and betray them.

Having learned that the king had surrendered to the Scots at Newark, Ormond dismissed Plunket to inform the Committee of Instruction then sitting in Limerick, that they should soon hear from him by persons duly authorized and instructed for that purpose. Ormond had played his part adroitly, and succeeded beyond his expectations; for the king was now a prisoner to the Scots, who had always been the greatest opposers of the Irish peace, "having all along hoped that Ireland should be given up to them;" and come what might of the king, Ormond had done nothing that could compromise him with his majesty's enemies. Meanwhile it was agreed on behalf of the confederates that the cessation should continue until June, and the Nunzio having ascertained that Sir Kenelm Digby was setting out for Rome instead of coming to Ireland with the articles agreed upon by the Pope and Queen Henrietta Maria, proceeded to Limerick, whither he was accompanied by sundry bishops and some members of the Supreme Council.

CHAPTER VII.

BEFORE leaving Kilkenny the Nunzio had the satisfaction of learning that the Supreme Council were about to send three armies into the field, one, under Owen Roe, for Ulster; another, under Preston, for Connaught, and the third under Muskerry, who was commanded to invest Bunratty with three Leinster regiments of foot and 300 cavalry. As for Preston, he was despatched with four regiments of infantry and one of horse to besiege the Scots then occupying Roscommon.

The main body of O'Neill's army had already assembled at Cavan, and on hearing that General Robert Munro was marching from Carrickfergus towards Armagh, with the intention of forcing his way into Leinster and overrunning the whole kingdom conjointly with Coote and Inchiquin; the Ulster general resolved to cross his path, and with God's aid to crush him. Having furnished each of his soldiers with provisions for sixteen days, he, on the morning of the fourth of June, reached Glasslough, where Munro had held a council of war two days before. The Ulster Scots, commanded by the latter, consisted of seven or eight regiments of foot, each regiment mustering a thousand, and two regiments of horse, 1,500 strong. This force, "the very best that the Scots did ever yet set afoot in Ireland, followed by a world of carts and waggon loaded with powder-beef, all sorts of meal, beer, cheese, wine, aquavitæ, meat and drink for two months, marched with field pieces; while the Laggan army, under Sir Robert Stewart, which were to join with the former, marched towards Dungannon. O'Neill having had intelligence of all

this, resolved to prevent their junction, and in case Munro got out of his reach towards Leinster, to be still in sight in his rear, and send notice to Westmeath to burn towns and castles on the enemy's approach. Casting the anchor of all his care on that ocean of mercy, God Almighty, Owen Roe, confident of divine assistance, trod under foot all human difficulties, and marched forward until he arrived within fourteen miles of Munro. Having ascertained from his spies that the Laggan army was coming towards him, he despatched Brian Roe O'Neill and Owen O'Doherty with 400 horse to cross them in their march, a service which they performed to the General's satisfaction, for they put the enemy to flight and killed most of their best troopers. After this defeat—a presage of a second better—the two armies came in sight of each other, O'Neill taking up a position between two hills at Benburb, and Munro right opposite to him on the slope of a hill, defended on the right by the junction of the Blackwater and the Oonagh, and on the left by a bog. His artillery, commanded by Lord Blayney, was planted on a hillock, in the centre of his (Munro's) position, the distance between the rival hosts being about five hundred yards. These arrangements perfected, Owen Roe commanded all to kneel down and make a brief confession; and Father Boetius Egan, a grave and learned Franciscan, whom the Nunzio appointed chaplain-general to the Ulster army, with power to grant plenary indulgence, pronounced the absolution, and then intoned the Litanies of our Lady, and other jaculatory prayers, in which he was fervently joined by the kneeling host. The devotions concluded, the General stood in front of his forces, and addressed them thus:—'Now is the time to

prove yourselves men of resolution, either to die or conquer. Our quarrel is just; we maintain the religion planted in Ireland by St. Patrick, and held ever since by our predecessors. These that you see there before you ready to spill your blood, have profaned your churches, turned your altars and sanctuaries to beastly mangers; killed your friends and allies, man, woman, and child; turned your sweet native country to desolation, demolishing all that was dear to you by fire and sword. Call to God for assistance, offer yourself and the justice of your cause as a sacrifice to his deity, and be confident this oblation is more acceptable to him than blood of rams and bulls offered in the ancient law, though prevalent for the expiation of sin. You never heard justice forsaken by God, nor the cry of the poor, forlorn, and righteous contemned. Now, my hearts of gold, armed with this confidence, take courage against your enemy: never think of any base flight; fight manly: here either live or die. If in this battle killed, you triumph with God in heaven; if alive, victor, your double laurel shall be recorded to future ages. If to shun death you fly, and leave your fellow-soldiers in action, you will be no better esteemed in the world than bloody Cain, who murdered his innocent brother Abel. Strike, therefore, drum, and sound trumpet for battle. Advance, fight, live and reign.'"

Montgomery, commanding the Scots cavalry, advised Munro not to trouble his foot, as he alone would route the Irish, who had only five or six hundred horse; but Munro replied he had to deal with an expert soldier, and he ought rather take heed lest the victory should be snatched out of their hands. Munro's position was admirably chosen, his field-

pieces well pointed, and the wind and sun strong in his back, and in the very face of the Irish. Montgomery anxious to distinguish himself, led his cavalry towards a ford that was between himself and the Irish, hoping to beat O'Neill's army in the flank, but the latter perceiving this sent 600 musketeers and a squadron of horse, commanded by his son, Henry, who forced Montgomery to retrace his steps in hot haste. Overjoyed at this repulse, O'Neill commanded all his officers to dismount, and march in front of their respective regiments, each of them armed with a pike. The signal for battle given, the Catholic General, advancing by inches, and recovering ground, used his best endeavours to have the sun and wind in his back and in the enemy's face, and this at the very moment when Montgomery, after making another dash at the ford, was broken upon by Henry O'Neill, who routed his cavalry and made himself prisoner. A signal presage of success was this capture, so much so, that the Irish battalions raised a shout which terrified Munro's men, who, to their amazement, now beheld a large detachment of horse, under Brian Roe O'Neill, coming rapidly into the field. As for the Irish, they could not contain themselves as peaceable men—the oration working so in them—or stand still before the enemy, but rushed forward, and despite all resistance, after cutting down Munro's gunners, got possession of all his field pieces. For a while the success of the Irish seemed doubtful, till O'Neill commanded Colonel Richard O'Farrell to advance and drive Munro's reserve before him. This was done gallantly and to the satisfaction of the General, whose voice was heard above the roar of battle encouraging the Irish to redouble their blows, and

renew their never-failing courage till the entire field should be theirs. There were the best pikemen in the world on both sides, breast to breast, pointing at each other, the shortest, before he came home, fell from his master's hands, the carrier being slain; whole regiments of the enemy fell dead to the ground, and their seconds or relief advancing were tumbled upon the corpses of their comrades. Success was no longer doubtful, for the Scots began to turn tail and fly, the Catholic victors pursuing and killing all they hit upon for three or four miles, and would follow to the last man, but that being late in the evening, Owen Roe commanded the bugles to sound the recall, whereupon those bloody executioners of justice returned to the camp.

On the night of this memorable victory, O'Neill commanded, under pain of death, that nothing in the enemy's camp should be touched until an inventory had been made next morning. Accordingly, on the 6th June, after a survey of the loss and gain, it was found that the Irish had made 4,500 prisoners, 31 officers, including Montgomery, general of horse, and 100 common soldiers who were set at liberty; 30 colours were captured, but as many more were dispersed among the troops, who cut them to pieces for hat-bands and such like fopperies, many of the common soldiers and garçons going about in silk and satin, nay in cloth of gold and silver. Among the rest of the spoil Munro's peruke and cloak were found on the field, and identified by Montgomery, who thought his stepfather* had been killed. All the field pieces,

* "A son to the now wife of Munro."—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 111.

baggage, ammunition, provisions, and all the spoil in general, except what the vanquished had about them, was valued at £50,000 sterling. All the commanders of note, Munro excepted, were either made prisoners or slain. The Irish lost Colonel Manus, son of Nial Garve O'Donnell, and about 100 common soldiers killed or wounded. Such was the fruit of prayers, of the holy money,* and plenary indulgence. On searching Montgomery's pockets, a list of each day's march was found through Cavan, Tyrone, Mullingar, Tyrrell's Pass, Maryborough, Ballynakill, and Kilkenny, where Ormond and Inchiquin were to meet the Covenanters and make an end of the confederates, if God had not put Owen O'Neill a block in their way.

After this victory O'Neill sent 1,500 foot and 200 horse under Colonel Roger Maguire and Phelim MacTohill O'Neill to Clandeboy and to the County Down, the Laggan forces flying before them, and dispersing to their several garrisons. All things in due order, O'Neill had provision sufficient for two or three years sent to Charlemont, and then set about redeeming prisoners, that were a long time in restraint with the enemy, in exchange for those now taken. These were Hugh MacArt Oge O'Neill, Major Maurice O'Hagan, Patrick O'Hagerty, visitor of the Franciscans, and John O'Cullinane,† Bishop of Raphoe, all of whom were made prisoners at Clones in June,‡ 1643.

* That contributed by the Nunzio.

† O'Cullinane studied in Rheims, c. 1626, d. 1661.

‡ The author of the Aph. Discov., from which the foregoing account of the battle is abridged, states on authority of eye witnesses, that Henry O'Neill and Munro's son met in single combat during the action, and that the former killed his adversary with a skeine which he drove under his armour. The description of the field, the day after

The news of Owen Roe's victory was brought to Limerick by Father Boetius Egan,* June 13, when Father Hartegan, one of the army chaplains, presented to the Nunzio thirty-two banners taken from the Covenanters, and the standard of their cavalry, all of which were deposited in the church of St Francis. Next day, at four o'clock, p.m., all the troops in garrison, together with the mayor, magistrates, members of the Supreme Council, and entire population of the city and suburbs, assem-

the fight, from the pen of the same author, may well find a place here:—"The battle being divulged by Munro's scattering, the Irish, English, and Scottish matrons caused the superior elements to echo their clamours, bursting into salty tears, and ran in troops to high and narrow paths, and swore to never turn home till certified of the life or death of their quondam bedfellows. And thus going along the said field of Benburb, saw the multitude of corpses stark naked, like a great herd of small cattle afar off; drawing near, knew them to be the slaughtered jewells of whom they were inquisitive, and so stooping down to see whether they might know whom they looked for, but their faces disfigured could not be so discerned; loath to depart without some certainty, studied all devices to that purpose."—Part I., p. 120.—To this we may add that a description of the battle will be found in Thomas Davis' Poems, and another, which exhausts the subject, in the Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Soc., p. 111. Mr. Tohall, author of the latter paper, living near the "Old victor field," has studied its topography accurately, and given us a narrative more interesting and ample than that of any other writer on the subject.

* He was highly esteemed by the Nunzio, who, despite Lord Muskerry, and other partizans of Ormond, had him advanced to the see of Ross in 1648. In 1650 he was arrested by Lord Broghill, one of the most merciless Puritans of his time, and hanged on a hill overlooking Carrigadrohid. A peasant's hand dug his grave in the old churchyard of Aghina. The editor of the Rinuccini Papers styles him "*Ordinis Seraphici vere seraphicus, et gloriosissimus martyr.*"

bled before said church from which the trophies were borne in solemn procession to the cathedral. Conspicuous in this memorable pageant were the Nunzio, Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, O'Dwyer,* coadjutor bishop of Limerick, O'Connell, bishop of Ardferf, and De Burgo,† bishop of Clonfert. Te Deum was chanted by the Nunzio's choir, and next day Mass of thanksgiving was offered to the Lord, who "overthrew the nations that were assembled to violate the sanctuary." But if anything could have dashed the universal joy at this moment, it was the escape of Munro, who, after leaving his cloak and head-gear, instead of himself, on the field of Benburb, reached Carrickfergus safe and sound, and wrote thence to the Parliament in London "that the lord of hosts had had a controversy with them to make them taste of bitterness; and to rub shame on their faces till once they had been humbled." The parliament lost no time in sending him supplies; and, as if to intensify English hatred of the Irish, caused to be posted throughout London, a broadsheet with "An account of the bloody fight at the Blackwater with the Irish Rebels against General Munro, where 5,000 Protestants were put to the sword, 7 pieces of ordnance and 5,000 arms taken, 4,000 foot and upwards killed, taken, and routed, Lord Blayney taken and dead, Viscount Ardes prisoner," etc., etc. Nor should we omit mentioning, that envious and mendacious tongues of some of Ormond's partizans whispered in their coteries that the banners taken by the Ulster army "were ancient colours kept by the craft of Owen O'Neill only to beguile simple

* C. 1646, d. 1654.

† C. b. of Clonfert, 1639; translated to Tuam, 1647; d. 1666.

souls." But the Nunzio, setting proper value on those slanderers, sent the colours, as votive offerings to Rome, where they were hung up in St. Peter's until the pontificate of Alexander VII.*

O'Neill's army was now increased to upwards of 10,000 men, and he found on the field ammunition and arms quite sufficient for the equipment of his new levies. The Nunzio sent to congratulate him, and forwarded decorations for his officers, and surgeons to attend his wounded, for whom accommodation was provided in Charlemont. On the return of his messengers, the Nunzio was informed that O'Neill had determined to call his troops the Catholic Army, nay, and to emblazon the armorial bearings of the papacy on his banners. This inopportune testimony of devotedness to the Church displeased the Nunzio, for he foresaw that it would widen the breach between O'Neill and his jealous rival, Preston, whenever their mutual co-operation might be required.

Reverting to the operations before Bunratty, it is necessary to state that the detachments which Glamorgan was to have brought to England had failed to reduce the place, and that he himself was driven from his camp at Sixmile-bridge to the walls of Limerick, whence he retired to Clonmel. The command then devolved on Lord Muskerry, who sat down before the splendid edifice with the Leinster regiments of Edmund Butler and Hugh MacPhelim O'Byrne, and spent there five or six weeks in absolute idleness; for he would not, if he could help it, batter his uncle's chief mansion, deeming it a pity to injure such a brave house.†

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 118.

† In a letter to his brother, Count Thomas Rinuccini, the Nunzio says:—"I have no hesitation in saying that Bun-

Informed of this "crastination," the Nunzio went in person to the camp on the 1st July, 1646, and twelve days afterwards the confederate attack was crowned with success—Father Collins, a Dominican, crucifix in hand, leading the storming party to the breach. The defendents, to the number of two hundred, with Adams, their colonel, got quarter for their lives, and were convoyed according to capitulation.*

The reduction of Bunratty was highly advantageous to Limerick, so much so, that the inhabitants thought they could never sufficiently thank the Nunzio, whose presence and subsidies helped to clear the Shannon of Parliamentary cruisers, and revive commerce with Spanish and other ports. Much spoil fell to the lot of the besiegers,—among the rest, ten ensigns, which like those of Benburb, were carried processionally through the city to the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was duly chanted, towards the end of July. Among the killed were Lieutenant-Colonel Barnaby Geoghegan and his brother, Art, captain of foot. The untimely death of these officers was widely lamented, for

ratty is the most beautiful spot I have ever seen. In Italy there's nothing superior to the palace and pleasure grounds of the Earl of Thomond—nothing like its ponds and park, with its 3,000 head of deer." Massari, dean of Fermo, in a letter to the same nobleman, mentions the castle, and its site as "the most delightful place he had seen in Ireland—the palace fit for an emperor."—*Rinuccini Papers*. Most Rev. Dr. Moran's copy.

* News of the capture of Bunratty having reached Rome on 27th August (1646), Father Wadding wrote to the Nunzio thus: "What! the most illustrious Rinuccini in a camp! in a soldier's hut! the Nunzio transformed to a general! who could have foreseen it? The finger of God is here! God will give strength and valour to a people led by such a sanctified commander."—*Rinuccini Papers*.

both were reverent to all the saints, especially to St. Francis, and in their last will directed that they should be interred in the habit and monastery of the Franciscans, which was accomplished—their corpses having been carried with great pomp, religious and military, to Limerick, and buried according to their wishes.*

Preston's success in Roscommon was also attributed to the Nunzio, who, while pressing the siege of Bunratty, sent the Leinster general £3,000 sterling, wherewith to pay his troops, and recover the place, which was held by the Scots under Coote. After receiving the Nunzio's blessing on bended knees, Preston hastened to Birr, where he mustered his forces, amounting to 500 foot and 200 horse, with some battering pieces. Arrived before Roscommon, where the Scots were strongly posted, he encamped on the site of the ancient Dominican convent,† and begun to breach the castle, repaired a few years previously by Jones, president of Connaught. Impatient to capture the town, he erected a battery looking eastwards, and in the course of two days, after discharging 238 heavy shots, destroyed not only the outworks but everything within range of his guns. The castle being thus damaged, the garrison, who had lost thirteen officers and many men, bethought them that they ought make terms with the enemy. It was thereon agreed that they should depart with arms and baggage, that the Scots residing in Roscommon should have a month to remove their chattels; that their heavy guns and live stock should be delivered to the confederates, and that they should evacuate the place, five hundred of the confederates

* Aph. Discov., Part I., pp. 120, 121.

† Founded by Felim O'Connor, 1253.

marching into it, and a hundred taking possession of the castle.* Now, on the very day that the Scots were preparing to quit, Preston learnt that a strong body of the enemy's cavalry was hastening to fall on the confederate camp, and get possession of their guns. He therefore ordered some squadrons of horse to attack them, and although they made a gallant resistance, the confederates pursued them fully nine miles, cutting them up in twos and threes. Nearly all the officers were taken or killed; and of the Irish only eight were slain and twenty-four wounded. Father Massari, whom the Nunzio sent to keep his eye on the "vulnerable" and temporizing Preston, relates that dense flocks of rooks kept hovering over the retreating Scots, and that these obscene birds pecked the eyes out of the slain. Preston having achieved this good service, marched to Boyle, and expelled the covenanters from the splendid Cistercian monastery founded there by Maurice O'Duffy.† "The Irish," says the anonymous author, "returned victorious with bloody swords, every one double girded with a prey of horses and spoyle. The garrison, of great concernment for the confederates, was, by the Supreme Council, given up to Clanricarde, Preston marching to Sligo, which, with all the enemy's garrisons surrendered upon demand, on sight of the army and ordnance."‡

Elated by these triumphs and tiring of Ormond's artifices and the king's vacillations, the Nunzio resolved to prosecute the war uncompromisingly until all the articles of Glamorgan's treaty obtained the royal sanction. Sixteen bishops and most of

* Built by De Ufford, 1268.

† An. 1161.

‡ Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 210.

the superiors of the religious corporations assured him of their support, while the Ormondists with their few clerical followers, sent, early in August, copies of his (Ormond's) articles to the mayors and sheriffs of cities and counties, with orders to have them duly proclaimed. On learning this, the Nunzio and his followers retired to Waterford,* and there, on 12th August, proclaimed that they would not agree to any peace that did not stipulate further and securer guarantees for religion, king and country, according to the oath of Association. As matter of course there was now open hostility between the clerical and lay element in the council, hostility all the more intensified when the latter learnt that their heralds were hooted out of Lime-rick, Clonmel, and other towns, where they strove to proclaim the articles sanctioned by Ormond. The latter was in Kilkenny at this momentous crisis, making strenuous efforts to sustain his adherents, while the Nunzio, mistrusting general Preston, wrote to O'Neill to march on Kilkenny, and seize those members of the *late* Supreme Council whom he might find there. A third, or moderate party, now interposed, but all they effected was to insist on an early meeting of the general assembly, which did not take place until January of the next year.

Meanwhile lord Digby arrived in Dublin, to declare the king's consent to Glamorgan's terms, but Ormond would not listen to him, and denied his authority, although his majesty had written privately to the Nunzio that he would ratify all

* While there, the Nunzio was the guest of Robert Wadding, kinsman of Father Luke, whose town and suburban residences were at his disposal. In Feb., 1647, he baptized four Africans in the church of the Holy Trinity, and consigned them to the care of the Franciscans.

said terms, as soon as he should come into his (the Nunzio's) hands. Having failed to gain over O'Neill, the lord lieutenant with a large escort of horse and foot, set out southward, hoping to conciliate the towns and effect an alliance with Inchiquin. On reaching the neighbourhood of Cashel, MacThomas, who was there quartered with his cavalry, refused to receive him, nay, commanded him to withdraw, as he (MacThomas) was resolved to stand by the Nunzio's party. Hearing this, Ormond retraced his steps to Kilkenny, till hearing that Owen O'Neill was marching thither, he, with Castlehaven, Digby, Clanricarde, and Taaff, set out in hot haste* by another route for Dublin, right glad that he had not fallen into the hands of those Ulster troopers whom Rinuccini describes as very barbarous, albeit excellent Catholics.†

Hearing of O'Neill's approach, the citizens of Kilkenny were apprehensive that he would use theirs as an enemy's town, because the peace had been proclaimed there ; but learning that the castle was taken from Richard Butler, Mountgarret's son, and held for the Nunzio and clergy, he resolved to spare the city. The Nunzio met him at Aghnapark,‡ where he had encamped, and next morning the Supreme Council despatched an agent re-

* "He never stayed for horse or foot, but gave order to follow in all haste to Dublin—he that had the best horse or the best pair of heels was reputed a happy man."—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 127.

† "Barbari ma buoni Cattolici."

‡ Now Parksgrove, near Ballyragget. The place abounded with deer, all of which were eaten by O'Neill's Ulstermen, to the great annoyance of Mountgarret.

questing the former and the general to repair to the city. The latter complied with the request, and after tarrying some hours with the Council, returned to the camp, where he remained four days. That time having expired, the Nunzio and O'Neill entered the city at the head of the army, and arrested, among other members of the Supreme Council, Walter Bagnall, and Edmond Butler, heir to Mountgarret. The latter was spared on account of his advanced age, and the Nunzio and clergy chose a new council, composed of four bishops and eight laymen, with Rinuccini himself for president. Preston, and most of his officers renewed their oath of fealty, and gave solemn pledges that they would thenceforth do nothing other than by consent of the Nunzio and the party adhering to him.

This being accomplished, O'Neill marched into Leix about the end of September, and reduced Maryboro', Stradbally, Kilmensie, and all the garrisons thereabout. Dysart O'Lalor, held by Sir John Pigot, made a stout resistance, but ultimately yielded after Pigot had been killed. Following up his successes O'Neill took Rheban, Athy, Grange Mellon, and other strong places, to the great joy of the Nunzio, who wrote to Rome that no words of his could adequately describe the wonderful revolution which he himself had effected. "This age," said he, "never witnessed such a sudden change. The clergy, hitherto flouted by the Ormondists, are now masters of the kingdom, and the late Supreme Council is amazed to see all authority devolve on the clergy." Having removed Muskerry from the command of the confederates in Munster, and appointed Glamorgan in his stead, the Nunzio wrote to Rome that the new council would create him (Glamorgan) lord lieutenant as soon as Ormond

was driven out of the government. The new council, which was to last till the next general assembly, issued orders for levying troops and monies for the maintenance of the three armies, two of which were to march on Dublin, and secure it against the parliamentarians, to whom, it was well known that Ormond meant to deliver it. On hearing that Preston and O'Neill would sooner or later make a combined effort to seize the metropolis, he set about repairing the fortifications from the College to St. Kevin's and so to St. James' gate, the marchioness of Ormond and several ladies of quality carrying baskets of earth to the workmen on the ramparts. As to Ormond's intentions there could be no doubt, for he was already in treaty with Willoughby, Lowther, and Davis, agents of the parliament, who were empowered to give him fifty barrels of powder, with reinforcements from Bristol and Liverpool, to strengthen the garrisons in Dublin and other places, and secure them for the parliament.

Concluding that further delay was fraught with danger, the Nunzio resolved to save the city before the promised supplies arrived, and immediately set about preparing for the campaign. It was suggested by some members of the council that Preston should have no share in prosecuting the siege—the Nunzio having good reason to doubt his honesty—but it was finally concluded that he and O'Neill should have joint command; and to make assurance doubly sure the Nunzio required Preston to swear that he would act faithfully and sincerely in the operations against the city. Preston demurred, and positively refused to take the oath till qualified by the following clause, namely, that they would not assault the city without first having sought ampler concessions from the lord lieutenant.

The two armies, composed of 16,000 foot and 1,600 horse, with field and battering pieces, marched from their respective cantonments at the close of October, O'Neill at the head of his troops crossing the Barrow at Athy, where he was met by the Nunzio and where he was building ovens and furnaces to supply bread for his men. The new council held a session in the castle of Kilkea,* and ordered O'Neill to encamp at Harristown and Coghlanstown where he remained four weeks. Preston, whose route lay through Carlow, declined storming the castle there, although feebly garrisoned, and lingered on the road "temporizing with the enemy, giving him time to strengthen himself in the capital, and expecting the arrival of Clanricarde, whom Ormond had summoned to his presence.

At last, Preston with his ordnance reached Lucan, where it was agreed that his head quarters should be at Leixlip, and O'Neill's at Newcastle. November was now advanced, and the country for miles presented the appearance of a wild waste, for Castlehaven had caused Ormond to destroy all the mills and burn all the haggards. Many of the citizens, alarmed at the over-coloured ferocity of the Ulstermen, embarked for England, while the lord lieutenant, to quiet the apprehensions of those who remained, assured them that he had written to Munro to come to their assistance.

The defences of the city were weak, so much so, that the inhabitants marvelled that the two armies did not seize on it in broad day; but their wonder grew stronger when they beheld from the tower of Christ Church and the elevated plateau of the

* In 1634, the Countess of Kildare made the Jesuits a present of the castle.

High Street, two hundred watch fires blazing on the north bank of the Liffey. Meanwhile, the river, swollen by heavy rains, had carried away the bridges, and thus prevented supplies being brought from the County Wicklow. The rains were succeeded by heavy snow showers, and these by glacial frosts, which night after night killed the sentinels at their posts. The troops, however, were sustained by the hope of good quarters in Dublin, which they regarded as all but in their grasp. But a deadlier enemy than frost or famine was within the two camps—dissension and distrust of each other—for O'Neill accused Preston of intriguing with Ormond, and concerting with him an attack on the Ulster camp; while the Leinster general affirmed that his rival meditated a sudden onfall to destroy him and his army. Seeing the impossibility of reconciling the generals, the Nunzio called a council to consider whether it was advisable to arrest Preston. Some were for imprisoning him, but others held that such a proceeding would be fatal to the general interest. In these circumstances the Nunzio deemed it his duty to prevent bloodshed, and with this object in view he went from camp to camp endeavouring to effect a union between the respective chiefs. On the 11th November Clanricarde* appeared in Preston's quarters, and there submitted to him for his signature three propositions, by

“Peter Walsh, O.S.F., author of the ‘Remonstrance,’ etc., etc., who was Ormond's creature and sycophant, induced Preston to accept Clanricarde's proposals, and, for so doing, was deprived of his ‘lecturie of divinity,’ by M'Kernan, his provincial, and sent to the convent of Castledermot—*domus disciplinæ*, or prison.”—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 273. That monastery was founded by the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles in the thirteenth century.

which Ormond bound himself, namely, 1. that a certain number of the Leinster army, with their respective officers, would be received into his (Ormond's) garrisons. 2. That he would do all in his power to make his majesty give full content to the confederate catholics, and failing that, that he would make suit to the king of France to assist the confederates in attaining their aim. 3. That in case he did not succeed with either king, then he would join the confederates and take the oath of Association. Preston signed the proposals, and sending for some of his chief officers, invited them to follow his example. In this, however, he was disappointed, for lieutenant-general Hugh MacPhelim (O'Byrne) MacThomas, alias Fitzgerald, Major Geoghegan, Warring, Lalor, and others walked out of the tent after refusing to subscribe. He then forwarded the instrument to O'Neill, requesting him to sign it, but the latter replied that he was only a servant for the kingdom,—for the Church especially—that both Nunzio and council were in the camp, and that if they put their hands to it he would not be wanting, but not otherwise.*

Contrary to Owen Roe's remonstrance, the Nunzio, accompanied by the bishops of Clogher and Ferns,† visited Preston and implored him to dismiss from his mind all suspicions and doubts of O'Neill's good will and sincerity; but finding that he did not succeed, he charged the Leinster general with having plotted to seize his person—the delegated majesty of Rome!—and commit him and Clogher to the custody of the lord lieutenant. Far from denying the accusation, Preston replied that he never meant to sanction the arrest of either.

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 132.

† C. 1643, d. 1678.

After spending twelve days on the north bank of the Liffey without making an attempt on Dublin, provision becoming scarce, the council had to consider what was to be done. Both generals were present,—the Nunzio presiding,—and, just as one of the councillors was urging an advance on the city, some one knocked at the door of the apartment, and Preston having opened it, and heard a few words from the person without, returned breathless, and said that the parliamentarians were at that moment in Dublin. Instantly O'Neill and the others, as if stung by a serpent, rose from their chairs, each one thinking for himself, and separated. The generals signalled by gunfire that the soldiers were to return to their posts, and next morning the councillors fled with utmost haste to Kilkenny. As for O'Neill, he made a pontoon of trees and house timber over the river, at Leixlip, and marched to Maryborough.

The Nunzio stayed three days in Lucan, and Clanricarde, after informing Preston that the English had not landed in Dublin, initiated a treaty with him on Ormond's behalf, which stipulated that his army should, on a day appointed, join a detachment led by Clanricarde from the city gates. Meanwhile, the Nunzio induced the ever-wavering Preston—that, like a weathercock, “turned oftener than the moon did change,”* to alter his mind, so that Clanricarde returned to Dublin, foiled and disappointed. After a few days' repose in Kilkenny, the Nunzio summoned the two generals to his presence, and persuaded them to subscribe a mutual agreement that they would forget past dissensions, and thenceforth devote their energies to securing

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 132.

the independence of religion, and deliverance of their country.

Meanwhile, the members of the late council, imprisoned in Kilkenny, hearing of the miscarriage of the attempt on Dublin, concluded that their liberation was nigh, and as the government by the congregation of the clergy was provisional and temporary, foresaw that a new assembly would restore to them the powers of which they had been deprived. Affecting to regard the Nunzio as presumptuous and overweening, and his policy alien and anti-national, they rejoiced over every disaster that befel the confederate army, and drank to their losses in copious beakers of beer. It was now resolved to call a general assembly of the kingdom, for it was urged that such a proceeding would satisfy the people, who were anxious for the formation of a government whose representatives should be elected by laity and clergy.

Contrary to the Nunzio's wish, the imprisoned members were enlarged, and Belling, on behalf of his colleagues, sought to justify his conduct in signing the peace concluded with Ormond, alleging that he had done nothing that was not sanctioned by the Pontiff, who had cautioned him against demanding more than the king could grant in his embarrassed circumstances. The Nunzio denied that his Holiness had ever so expressed himself, and appealed to his Instructions, which charged him to insist upon complete concession of all the Catholic claims. In the interim, Ormond was negotiating with the parliament commissioners, who anchored in Dublin Bay, on the 13th November. Having invited them to land at Ringsend, he was in active deliberation with them till the 23rd, when, as he could not agree to their terms,

they carried their supplies of arms and ammunition to the Ulster Scots, who in the absence of O'Neill had committed serious depredations in Cavan, Monaghan, and Louth.

The failure of Ormond's intrigue with the commissioners disgusted the citizens of Dublin so much that they refused to advance him more money, and obliged him to draw out his "half starved and half naked" army and march into Westmeath to procure provisions. In fact, nothing could be worse than the lord lieutenant's condition at this moment, and a mere accident saved him and the force he commanded. While keeping a melancholy Christmas at Trim, a short truce, proposed by Muskerri, was agreed to by Owen Roe, who might, if he so wished, have fallen upon the famished army of Dublin, and made short account of it. But the Ulster general's respect for treaties was inviolable.

The day of the general assembly was now at hand, and, as if anticipating the decision of the majority on the question of religion, Ormond wrote to Digby that nothing should thwart the grounds he laid to himself, "for," so ran his letter, "I shall obey by suffering, and particularly that there be no concessions to the Papists to perpetuate churches or church livings, but as for the quiet exercise of their religion, his majesty may tolerate it, if he can see anything in them but Irish rebels." And thus the sum of all for which they had struggled was to be mere forbearance, and the blood and toil of years were to be rewarded with toleration of the ancient creed, not in cathedral or other churches erected in ages of Faith, but in mansions of the Catholic nobility and gentry, the cabins of the peasantry, and the slums of cities and towns.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE tenth of January, 1647, is a memorable epoch in the annals of Kilkenny. On that day two hundred and twenty-four gentlemen, representing the commons of Ireland, met together with the spiritual and temporal peers, to deliberate on the actual state of the country, and to adopt measures for securing its religious and civil liberties. The Roll of the titled and untitled gentry who rejected Ormond's peace, and identified themselves with the clergy at Waterford in August,* registers—in the South—among others, the names of Fermoy, O'Sullivan More, O'Briens, MacNamaras and O'Dwyers, with the cities of Waterford, Limerick, Clonmel, and the town of Dungarvan. In Connaught—Galway with twelve of its chief families—in Leinster, O'Dempsey, lord Clanmalier, Rory and Lisagh O'Moore, lord Westmeath, Terence Coghlan, O'Farrell, lord Annaly, lord Louth, with the towns of Wexford, Ross, and the Fort of Duncannon—in Ulster, the entire army under Owen Roe O'Neill, two regiments of the Munster army commanded by lord Muskerry, and one half of that under general Preston.

The morning of that day saw the confederate representatives assisting at High Mass in the cathedral, the aged bishop of Ossory officiating, and Italian choristers chanting the music. On the left of the grand altar, the Nunzio, in jewelled cope and mitre, occupied a costly-furnished throne, and close to him sat eleven bishops, with O'Reilly, the primate, at their head. Behind the latter were

the temporal peers, among others, Mountgarret* and Fingall; and close to these, the envoys from France and Spain. A more distinguished assemblage never knelt within the sacred precincts, then partially restored by Rothe, who replaced the holy images destroyed by the apostate Bale,† who, owing to some fortunate accident spared the gorgeous eastern window,‡ the gift of bishop Ledrede.

The august function concluded, the Nunzio gave the apostolic blessing to the vast concourse that crowded the nave and aisles; and here it may not be inopportune to remark that of all those, prelates, peers, and commoners, who heard *Ite missa est* from the altar of St. Canice on that notable day, Mountgarret was the only one destined to find a grave beneath its holy roof.

Next day the general assembly met in the great

* D. 1651.

† An English Carmelite, advanced to the schismatic bishopric of Ossory, by Edward VI., 1552. He was a ruthless ruffian, if possible worse than his countryman, Brown, pseudo-archbishop of Dublin, whose destruction of sacred objects is well known. Fuller, "Worthies of Suffolk," calls Bale "*Biliosus*," i.e., choleric; and Leland styles him "a gross slanderer—a poor wretch, who, except his calumnies against men and his blasphemies against God and his saints, hath nothing in him worthy to be taken notice of."

‡ Rev. Dr. Graves, in his History of St. Canice's Cathedral, quotes the following passage from bishop Rothe's unfinished description of the Diocese of Ossory: "The large eastern window, than which I know not any of greater size or more replete with ornament." Dr. Graves, who exerted himself greatly in restoring the ancient cathedral, recovered sundry fragments of the window destroyed by Axtel's soldiers when Cromwell captured Kilkenny, and describes them in his admirable work. Ledrede, a Franciscan, was consecrated in Avignon, bishop of Ossory 1318, and d. 1360.

gallery of Kilkenny Castle. The Nunzio, Irish Primate, and eleven bishops, with the peers, commoners, and members of the late council recently set at large, were present; and there, too, were O'Neill and Preston, who had sworn that they would thenceforth stand by each other for the weal of religion and country. The Nunzio was the first to address the meeting. Adverting to the congregation at Waterford, he declared that necessity alone had obliged him and the bishops to take upon themselves the government of the country; nay, more, he was forced to accept the position of president, which he now resigned, in order to conciliate and unite all parties. As for the commissioners engaged in the late transactions, he charged them with having concluded a peace that was repudiated by the Irish hierarchy, clergy, and well-affected laity. "But," he continued, "let us now agree on a peace advantageous to religion; and bear in mind that his Holiness is so interested for your welfare, that the dean of Fermo is now hastening to your shores with subsidies from the treasury of the Vatican. The Holy Father rejoices at the success of the confederate arms, and requests you to send to Rome the banners which you wrested from your enemies, that they may be suspended in St. Peter's, and other basilicas of the holy city. For himself, he assured the assembly that he did not ambition temporal power, and that his chiefest solicitude was for the independence of the ancient faith. In the recent negotiations there were many circumstances that pained him, but he found compensation in reflecting that the victory of Benburb—where God fought on the side of O'Neill—had saved the representatives of the Confederates, Kilkenny city, the peers, spiritual and temporal,

priesthood, and churches of Ireland from the fury of fanatical Puritans."

The address concluded, a most important point remained to be discussed before entering on other matters. There was, indeed, an unanimous desire for the conclusion of peace, but the conditions on which it was to be based, however pleasing to the clerical element, were far from being acceptable to Muskerry, Mountgarret, and others of Ormond's faction. A debate ensued which lasted over a month, the subject being the insufficiency of Ormond's articles, and the conduct of the clergy who censured those who had subscribed them. It closed, however, with a compromise which condemned the action of the commissioners, and justified the Waterford congregation for having declared said articles unacceptable and incompatible with the oath of association.

A new oath was now formulated and taken by the general assembly, all of whom swore that they would never lay down their arms until the free exercise of their religion, such as it was in time of Henry the Seventh, should be established by law. Furthermore it was urged that the clergy, secular and regular, archbishops, deans, etc., etc., should enjoy all their privileges, jurisdictions, and immunities in as ample a manner as their predecessors did in the reign of the aforesaid king; and finally, that primates and ordinaries, etc., etc., should hold and enjoy all the churches and church livings in as ample a manner as the late Protestant clergy enjoyed the same on the 1st day of September, 1641. On the 6th March the general assembly issued a proclamation commanding all Catholics to take the oath, and denouncing as traitors to God and country such as would refuse to swear it.

It was at this period that four lawyers, with the learned D'Arcy for their leader, announced that the appointment of Irish bishops was vested in the crown, and that the choice of prelates and incumbents should be made by the Supreme Council—then acting in the king's right—and the metropolitan chapters. To take away that right, they affirmed, would be a breach of allegiance, as they had sworn to maintain inviolate all his majesty's prerogatives and jurisdiction. Another argument was, that they had no other means left them of preventing Protestants from being appointed to the vacant sees, if it was not admitted that the power of appointing was actually vested in the crown. Conceding that power to the pope, they said nothing could be expected from a Protestant monarch or executive. The Nunzio had little difficulty in refuting such pernicious doctrines, which would have enabled the Ormondists to provide Irish sees for their own clients and adherents.

Having settled this point, the other debates turned on the obligation of the oath recently taken, in regard of which it was moved—"That though the propositions of the clergy were ratified by the assembly, yet the assembly should not by any of the propositions be excluded from assenting to any medium to be agreed to by vote of that body, and inserted by them in their instructions about churches or ecclesiastical lands, in parts and places possessed by the Protestants, at the conclusion of any peace or accommodation to be made with the lord lieutenant, or any other person empowered by his majesty." After considering various propositions submitted to them on Ormond's behalf by Mr. Barry, all the latter could effect was a cessation be-

tween the lord lieutenant and the confederates for three weeks, *i.e.*, till March 13, and soon after for a month longer, thus allowing him to enlarge his quarters in the county of Dublin.

This arrangement having been sanctioned, the general assembly deemed it expedient to hasten the conclusion of an honourable peace, as it was no longer doubtful that Ormond was in treaty since the 6th of February with the parliament commissioners, to whom he offered to deliver the towns and garrisons which were at his disposal. To counteract this, Geoffry Brown, Fennel, and others were sent by the supreme council to Dublin, to propose a union of the confederate forces with those of the lord lieutenant, on the distinct understanding that both armies should act independently of each other, and under their respective leaders. Concession of the propositions annexed to the oath was to be an indispensable condition to this arrangement, and the confederate troops they insisted should be received into the king's garrisons, and to have his majesty's towns delivered to them. Ormond, instead of listening to the deputies, dismissed them with a positive refusal.

Meanwhile it was rumoured that the queen meant to come to Ireland with the prince of Wales, that she inclined to the demands of the Catholics in the matter of their recent treaty with the lord lieutenant, and that far from negotiating with the rebels in England, he was determined to hold Dublin for her majesty. But the more clear-sighted members of the council saw that it was to be a death-struggle between them and the parliament, and took their precautions accordingly. A select committee of the confederate council set about providing for the support of their troops, till the supplies

which they were expecting had arrived; and determined that, along with the ordinary contributions, a tenth of all fruits and chattels should be given by the laity, and an eighth by the bishops and clergy, secular and regular. Everything that could replenish their exhausted coffers was tried, and the chalices and other church utensils were turned into money. At the same time it was agreed that Owen Roe should have the command of the Connaught, as well as Ulster forces; and Preston, although feared and distrusted by the Nunzio and clergy, was re-appointed to command in Leinster. Much against the will of Muskerry and his party, Glamorgan was to lead the army of Munster.

Never did the confederates apprehend greater danger to their existence than at this moment; nor did it need the wit of a seer to foreshadow the havoc and ruin which were suspended above their heads. The blow which was struck by O'Neill in Ulster had only stunned the covenanters, for the supplies sent by the parliament had recruited Munro's strength, and he now burned for revenge. From the south there came disastrous news. Inchiquin was up again, merciless and daring; and the Marquess of Ormond, falsely stating that the "insolent demands of the Catholics" had compelled him to treat with the king's enemies, was about to open the gates of Dublin to that ruthless faction.

The assembly continued their meetings ten weeks longer than at any former period, in the hope of inducing Ormond to break off with the parliament, but all in vain. He hated the Catholics with an intense hatred, and would rather have seen the crescent flying from the castle of Dublin than the standard of the confederates. He haggled long, and allowed the seasonable opportunity for

action to elapse. Had he thrown the weight of his influence into the scale against the Puritans as against the Nunzio, Preston and O'Neill would have joined him against the Scots. The nobility and gentry would have been with him to a man, and the monarchy might have been saved.

All other resources now failing, it was determined by the confederates to have recourse to the sword. Freedom of conscience, the restoration of the churches and estates of the Catholic nobility and gentry, were the objects which banded them together. The exhortations of the clergy cheered them to the struggle, and the faithful peasantry flocked to their standard wherever it was raised.

The last act of Ormond cleared away all doubt as to his intention towards the parliament, for his second son, lord Richard Butler, with the earl of Roscommon, and Sir James Ware, had been sent to England as hostages for his performance of the articles, in consideration of which he was to surrender Dublin to the English rebels.* The assembly resolved, therefore to break up in the beginning of April, and, before adjourning, appointed their next meeting for the 12th of November following. A new supreme council of twenty-four was now elected; all of whom, with the exception of Muskerry and three others, were inflexibly opposed to the marquess of Ormond.

The hostages had scarcely arrived in England when 1,000 foot and 400 horse were marched from Ulster, and received by Ormond into the garrisons of Drogheda and Dublin, where they were allowed their own form of worship, and had churches assigned to them as well as ministers. Colonel

* Notwithstanding the king's command "not to submit to them on any terms."

Castle had already been admitted to the metropolis with his regiment which had lately arrived from England, and the letters forwarded by Ware and the earl of Roscommon gave Ormond to understand that he would soon get reinforcements from the traitors on the other side of the channel.

Yet, such was the inclination of the Irish Catholics for peace, and their zeal for his majesty's service, that they gladly availed themselves of an incident which they thought was calculated to promote it. The truce with Ormond expired on the 10th of April, and Preston led his forces to Carlow, and sat down before the castle, which he took by storm. It was evidently the intention of the confederates to march on Dublin, and repair the errors that had been committed there last winter. Their object was to take the city out of the hands of Ormond, and prevent the landing of the parliament troops. Indeed the lord lieutenant would freely have ceded it to any power save the confederates, and was now begging the intervention of Inchiquin, who had an army of 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse at his command, with the promise of supplies from England. He had already taken Dromana, Cappoquin, and 'Dungarvan, which were but feebly garrisoned by the confederates. In order, therefore, to oppose him, it was settled that Preston, instead of carrying the war into the quarters of the lord lieutenant in Leinster, should at once proceed to Munster, and act with the troops under Glamorgan. The incident which favoured this design was the arrival of Dr. Leyburn, who, under the assumed name of Winter Grant, had recently come from the court of the English queen with instructions for the lord

lieutenant, and it was therefore resolved, on the 10th of May, that the confederates should embrace the opportunity of Grant's coming, and renew their overtures for an accommodation.

Lord Digby, who was at Leixlip on May the 12th, wrote to Ormond, advertising him of Grant's arrival, with despatches from the queen of an urgent nature. Grant immediately afterwards presented himself in Dublin, and having consigned the despatches to the lord lieutenant, assured him, that the queen and prince had unbounded confidence in him, and that the reports which had reached them could not shake or diminish their confidence. The notion of delivering Dublin to the king's enemies was farthest from their suspicions, Leyburn, who overrated Ormond's lealty, was soon undeceived, for the latter told him "that if there were necessity, he would rather give up the city and the places under his command to the English, than to the Irish rebels."*

Leyburn, who affected to believe that Ormond would never submit to the parliament, and that a successful negotiation might induce him to join the confederate troops, was now commissioned to procure a cessation between him and the Catholics. Ormond freely consented to a cessation for three weeks, well knowing that, ere that time had elapsed, the additional reinforcements should have arrived from England. His object was to gain time, and when Leyburn was about proceeding to Kilkenny, "he desired to know from his excellency what he should say in case it was objected by the confederates, that he consented to so short a cessation only that he might gain time

* Leyb. Mem.

to receive more troops from the parliament." To which he got answer, "that he should receive orders on the way, if, on consideration, there was cause." Accordingly, on the next day, a courier overtook him with a letter from the lord lieutenant, which empowered him to undertake to the confederates that if a cessation should be agreed upon, he would not receive into the garrisons under his command, forces from the parliament during three weeks; but Leyburn was to use his utmost endeavours to procure a cessation without that condition, or at least that it should be kept private; which last he was to engage them in before he consented to the said condition.

But on the arrival of Leyburn in the confederate quarters, he was astonished at finding them already aware that Ormond had admitted three thousand puritans to the city and other garrisons where his orthodoxy did not interdict the free exercise of their religion. Perceiving that this subterfuge was in keeping with his accustomed duplicity, they forthwith objected to so short a cessation, but at same time proposed to extend it for six months, provided his lordship would, in the meantime, admit no more of the parliament forces into his garrisons. But Herod and Pilate were now friends.

Nor should we omit mentioning that the Nunzio had no act or part in this negotiation carried on by Leyburn, on behalf of Ormond; for he had been absent during that eventful interval, solely occupied with ecclesiastical affairs in Wexford and other towns. When, however, Ormond's final answer reached the supreme council in Kilkenny, he hastened thither, only to learn that Leyburn, as well as the queen, had formed a

fanciful estimate of Ormond's loyalty and sincerity.

All hope of taking Dublín out of Ormond's hands had now vanished, although O'Neill asserted that he could reduce it in fifteen days. The reluctance, however, of the people of Leinster to receive his army, and the want of money and provisions, determined him to abandon the attempt. Fifty thousand dollars, forwarded by the Holy See for the confederate armies, were still on the coast of France; but the parliamentary cruisers stood in the way, and these longed-for succours awaited a favourable opportunity of reaching their destination.

In the beginning of June, the supreme council proceeded to Clonmel at the very moment when Inchiquin was dealing death and devastation along the sea coast, into the county Cork. The jealousies of the confederate generals had given him time to place one-half the province under contribution. Glamorgan waited orders to act, as well as money to pay his troops, and a great portion of the army reluctantly obeyed the Englishman who had superseded Muskerry. Several regiments mutinied, demanding that the latter should be re-appointed, whilst others threatened to take his life. At the very doors of the council-chamber these clamours were kept up, till, on the 12th of the month, as they were discussing the best mode of restoring discipline, Muskerry went out, as if to take the air, and proceeded to the camp, where, in an hour's time, the whole of the army declared for him, and turned Glamorgan out of the command. Next day he entered Clonmel, attended by a guard, and Glamorgan, by way of reparation to his honour, was reinstated for a few days, and then ceded the

command to Muskerry. The latter immediately resigned in favour of lord Taafe,* a creature of Ormond, without military abilities.

Thus was Muskerry enabled to give his whole attention to the supreme council, while the troops in Munster were completely at the beck of his dependent, who was in the interest of the unsteady Preston and the lord-lieutenant. The Nunzio soon afterwards proceeded to Connaught, in order to concert with Owen Roe whatever measures were necessary to meet the perils which they knew must follow the surrender of Dublin. Nor had they long to wait; for Ormond, in the spirit of a well known distich, would rather see the Catholics exterminated than admitted to hold the city against those whom he subsequently denounced as murderers of the king's person, usurpers of his rights, and destroyers of the Irish nation. And yet this man had already entered into terms with the parliament faction which he thus characterized; for, on the 7th June, their commissioners came into the bay of Dublin with 600 horse and 1,400 foot. At this moment, Ormond was well aware that the king's person had been sold to the parliament by the Scotch, and still he did not hesitate to sign and conclude a treaty with the parliament on the 19th, by which he obliged himself to surrender the sword on the 28th of the following month, or sooner, upon four days' notice. It would appear that Digby and Preston protested vehemently against this treason, but all to no purpose.

On the 16th July, Ormond got notice to remove with his family from the castle, and deliver the regalia within four days; but, as the messenger,

* "A common, cogging bankrupt, and a temporizer fit for any stamp."—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 145.

who was commissioned to give him £5,000 for his treason, had not yet arrived, he stayed there a few days longer. The messenger finally came, and having got his reward, and a promise from the parliament of £2,000 per annum, he sailed from the city on the 28th of July.*

Indignation and alarm seized the minds of the people when the news of Ormond's treason sped through the land. Hitherto they had struggled for their religion, but now, that the swords of the parliamentarians were at their throats, they began to learn that they had to fight for their very existence.

Owing to the imbecility of the gasconading Taafe, Inchiquin, with a small army, thinned by disease, was destroying by fire whatever he could not reach with the sword. Owen Roe was in the heart of Connaught, without money; and such was the feeling created by Muskerry against him in the south, that the inhabitants of Munster would

* "After many consultations, to colour this abominable treason, Ormond moved the parliament (the king then prisoner), that they should get the regal assent for the delivery of Dublin, and the rest of the garrisons into their hands the same instrument to be signed by his majesty, who durst not deny the parliament anything Ormond's pledges having arrived in London, all the despatches were sent to him and Colonel Jones from the parliament, with 15,000 soldiers to enter possession of all the said forts and garrisons in Ormond's hands at present, who was to have £12,000 sterling in hand, and £4,000 yearly for seven years, at the expiration thereof to hold all his own estate without contribution or any yearly rent, and in the interim to live with the parliament in England, or where he liked, and that parliament would have special care of him. Upon sight of these conditions, and the king's letters, the castle of Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim, and Nass, were surrendered to Jones."--Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 145.

rather have received the troops of the grand signor into their province than those he commanded.*

An effort, however, was to be made to recover the capital, and the faction who had adhered to Ormond declared that it would be regained with as much ease as it had been lost. This undertaking was committed to Preston, who fancied he would eclipse the military genius of his rival by taking Dublin. Muskerry urged him to advance on the city, and promised that he should immediately be joined by the troops under Taafe, and that their combined forces should then proceed to attack O'Neill—the grand obstacle to the project which they now contemplated—the recall of Ormond.

Jones had scarcely established himself in Dublin when he sent orders to Coote and Conway, in the north, to put their troops in motion, and join him in Leinster. The forces under his command did not amount to more than 4,000 foot, two regiments of horse, and some field guns. He marched from Dublin on the 1st of August, and took up his quarters in the village of Swords. Next day he continued his march through Hollywood to the Naul, and thence to Garretstown, where he got notice that the forces from the north were coming to join him. On the 4th he pitched his camp on the hill of Skreene, where he was met by Colonel Moore with the Dundalk troops, and soon afterwards by Tichbourne, with those of Drogheda, and Conway, with a party of the old British, altogether 700 horse and 12,000 foot, and here he learnt that Preston had encamped on Dungan Hill, two miles from

* Carte.

Linche's-Cnoc,* on Saturday night, the Vigil of the Transfiguration. Having taken Trimleston Castle, he marched so rapidly that he came up with the Confederates at Dungan Hill, where Preston had taken every precaution for vigorous defence. The fate of Dublin depended on the issue of the action which commenced at 10 o'clock a.m. Two hours afterwards, Preston, tired of skirmishing, charged down the slope of the hill, hoping to crush the regiments at its base. His infantry were repulsed, and despite the exertions of the brave Colkitto, driven back to their first position. Preston's cavalry, badly placed, for their horses were fetlock deep in marshy ground, were encountered by Jones' horse, which drove the Confederates into an adjacent bog, where being surrounded, they were literally mowed down by the entire strength of the Puritan battalions. Seeing all hope vanished, Preston fled from the scene of defeat, leaving his carriage and papers in the enemy's hands. On the field and about the hill were reckoned of the Confederates killed 5,470, of whom 400 were "redshanks" belonging to the gallant Mac Donnell of the Isles. In his retreat, followed by the wreck of his army, Preston burnt Nass, Harristown, and Moyglare, but did not attempt to recover his four guns, and sixty-four fair oxen, which attended his train. The Puritans had only twenty killed and very few wounded. Immediately afterwards Jones retired to Dublin with his prisoners, colours, and baggage, and would not allow the captured standards to be carried in

* Linche's-Cnoc, with its ruined castle, is within the demesne of Summerhill. It was given some time after the action here narrated to the brother of Colonel Jones, who was appointed Protestant Bishop of Meath.

triumph through the city, lest "that should be attributed to man that was due to God alone."

After stating that Preston, contrary to the advice of Owen O'Neill; engaged Jones, the anonymous author often quoted in these pages, gives the following account of the defeat at Lynch's-Cnoc :—

"Preston neuer feared the enemie, he lodged on Saturdaie night, the 7th of August, 1647, in a very comodious and safe place from incursions of all enemie as longe as he pleased, but next morninge timely on Sunday, beinge the Transfiguration of our Savior, likly without complyinge with the church precept in hearinge Mass, dislodged and marched towards Lince hill. Upon his dislodginge a prieste presented himself to him askinge whither he marched? whoe answered to such a place, the prieste with all the efficacie possible perswaded him to turne to the former place againe, or pitche his campe where at present he was, affirminge for certaine that Jones with the northeren English and Scotts were marchinge towards him, I doe tell you in the behalfe of God Almightye if forwarde you marche you shall be vanquished, therefore comannde a halte presently, for it is a world of pittie to expose this armie wittingly unto slaughter, the distruction of a whole kingdome hanginge on it. The priest for rendringe this well grounded sense, by Generall Preston was reputed a maddman, in disrespekte of eache intelligence marched on, goinge to a hight discovered the enemie marchinge towards him, upon whose sight comannded a halte. I hope Preston you belieue your own perspective glasse now, seeinge you gaue credence to no humane relation, the verie vntowardest place that nature could devise did he choose for battle.

"Colonell Pierce Fitz Gerald, by the Assembly was appointed comander of the horse of Linster, but on this occasion, Preston did giue this comannde to My Lord of Costello, a newe reconciled Catholicke, one that never sawe a sworde drawen in a field before that present, nor in his life gave a stroke in the behalfe of the Irish before then; he gaue also the comannde of 7 troupes to Captain Thibott Buttler, an ill desearvinge member, that reuolted from the clergie and Kingdome, comannded McThomas, Captain Gerald Crone Fitz Gerald, Captain James Geoghe-

gan, with 4 troupes vnto a narrow lane, that 3 onely horse might goe in breste, on either side with high stronge ditches, with 20 yeares growth of quick sett, beinge impossible to relieue them, the enimie began to marche towards the mouth of this lane, a braue large field, Dillon and Buttler with the remains of the horse for relife and researue, was neither able for the one, nor yett did offer to doe the other, his foot he placed in a braue field of wheate, nor yett reaped the rigges soe toughe and high, and the corn soe extraordinarie high growen, that neither horse or foote could doe any service there (in case it were offered), nay too many of the souldiers, (that were not excessive tall) could not descerne either friende or foe, or what oither acted except such as stooode by; those were on the left winge of the horse engaged, in the said lane; on the right hand of the aforesaid lane, was a goodly plaine made fallowe and alreadie harrowed, where hee might place his armie for battle, if desirous to thrine. At the right hande southe and by west of the said fallowe, was a bogg, at the brimm wheof place Colonell Clangary with his reddshanks, promisinge to relieue them if neede were. Thibott Buttler with his 7 troupes, kept for a researue, was a quarter of a mile from all the rest, in the reare, in a vallie and upon a straight, whoe could neither see, or come to any the said parties, (if willinge to relieue). This was the posture of the now Prestonian field, rather disposed for slaughter, than any way for victorie.

"The enimie arriuinge in their full marche, neuer offering to plant their field peeces, or other warlicke posture, but as they were, aduanced towards the horse in the said lane, pell-mell ran towards them, as deepe as they pleased, whose foote aduanced towards the reddshanks, who brauelie opposed, causinge the boulde enimie to stager, three several times broke on them, followed them unto the verie bodie of their armie, whom, when the enimie obsearued noe motion in the Irish foote, placed, as aforesaid, on the left winge, and theyre impossibilitie of their relieuinge the reddshankes, as hauinge high and impassible ditches, betweene both, the enimie by the obseruation of the field posure, was assuredly certain of the victorie, comanded therefore all the foote to fall on the valiant reddshankes, as the onely then opposers, whoe neuer yet experimented the art of flight, of 800 their number, 100 was the most that escaped furie, and one moytie of this poore remaine, wounded, all the enimie horse falling on the said 4 troupes engaged in

the lane, must either perish or stand, stand they could not, as ouerswayed by the multitude, therefore must perish, as impossible to be either reliued or flye, upon such odds the braunest resistance was offered that the world could afford, noe service could they acte, untill the enemie came to them brest to brest, not able to stirr forward, backward, or on either side, for want of ground, but tyed to theyre horse hoofe must like a rock either abide the shott or sworde, unmovable, his comrade either killed before him in the formost ranke, or at his elboe, all for the most parte massacred, some of the Irish pyoniers, followers of MacThomas, obsearuinge his danger, ran towards him on the other side of the lane, and opposit unto him made a gate on the ditch, wherby saved himself and others that were in the reare, desertinge the place as seeinge noe reliefe to come.

"But, o treason, before this happned, all the horse, Generalls Costello, Thibott Buttler, and Sir James Dillon fled away, leauinge the foote and the said 4 troupes, as aforesaid engaged, neuer givinge the leaste notice of such a base cowardly acte vnto theire quondam comrads. The foote seeinge now all turned to naught, fled unto a litle bogge neere hande. But the enemie hauinge now noe resistance followed the route, the enemie foote did leaguer the said bogge, where the Irish foote had bene. The Irish comannders on the bogge cryed for quarter, which was grannted, but noe sooner surrendred theire armes pursuant to theire said quarter, but the enemie began to murder and slaughter the whole partie, contrary to the lawes of both armes and nations. Some prime comannder of the enemie obsearuinge the inhumanitie of those humane-bloude-suckers to his best endeauors opposed, but maugre all force and power to the contrary 1,500 were killed by that crueltie, all the rest were taken prisoners and stripped. Prime officers and comannders taken prisoners here, Hugh McPhelim Byrne, Lieutenant-Generall of the Confederats in Linster, the Earle of Westmeath, Colonell of foote, Colonell Browne, Lieutenant-Colonell Cruze, Major Lalor, Major Charles Geoghegan, Lieutenant-Colonell Fitz Gerald, Captain Mathewe Geoghegan, Captain Edward Geoghegan, Captain Thomas Geoghegan, Lieutenant Rosse Geoghegan, Lieutenant Andrewe Geoghegan, Lieutenant Christopher Geoghegan. All the comannders and officers of the armie were either killed or taken prisoners, except the Generall, Butlers and Dillons and fewe others. Those of note killed, Lieutenant-Colonell Fitz Gerald. Captain Gerald Crone

Fitz Gerald, Captain Bathe, Captain James Geoghegan was wounded and taken prisoner, and died in Drogheda September following. This field lost by Preston, except Benborbe, was the richest campe that was yett won in Ireland, lost all his wagons, tents, artillerie, a mass of money, sent for the armie meanes, was founde in the Generalls cabinet, among the rest of the spoile was found in the Generalls trunck a letter of intelligence sent by Barnewalle of Kilbrue, for this his censeritie to his countrie, and cossen Preston, the gentleman was brought in the nature of a prisoner to Dublin, where being racked did suffer verie much trouble by this busines. The comannders, as aforesaid, prisoners, and the matter of 500 common souldiers were conuoyed vnto Dublin, in a most miserable condition. Preston himself arrived that night to Tircrohan, and intringe Kilkeny, (as if victor) with the sounde of a trumpett, was neither sad nor ashamed, nor the Supream Councell did shoue the least resemblance of grieffe or compassion. It was publickly given out that a composition was made for this day's seruice, that all the Irish that either perished or were taken prisoners that day were sould for a certain quantity of money by their owne cheefe comannders."—Aph. Discov., Part I., pp. 155-6-7.

O'Neill's advance saved the confederates; for, as the Nunzio afterwards stated, the Irish Fabius, in the midst of marshes and bogs, kept Jones in such straits that for four months he was obliged to confine himself to his quarters, and finally retire into Dublin—O'Neill's Ulstermen "burning and demolishing all that came in their way within two miles to the metropolis, and seven or eight miles over it, south by north."*

We have already observed that the appointment of Taaffe to the command of the Munster army was a most unfortunate event. Glamorgan on his retirement consigned to him 12,000 foot, 800 horse, and an excellent park of artillery; but this large force notwithstanding, he remained inactive,

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 165.

while Inchiquin was carrying everything before him. Taaffe meanwhile was corresponding with Ormond, who had gone to Paris, and calculated that he should return at no distant day, and find the Munster troops completely at his disposal.

On the 3rd September Inchiquin, after having placed the counties of Limerick and Clare under contribution, entered Tipperary. Having stormed some small castles, he crossed the Suir near Cahir, and sat down before that ancient stronghold, which he reduced by a happy accident. One of his foragers having been hurt and made prisoner under its walls, was allowed to send for a surgeon to dress his wounds. One Hipplesley, who knew something of the healing art, assumed a disguise, and was admitted to the garrison, where the wounded man lay. Better skilled in the science of fortification than surgery, he observed a spot in the outward bawn where the castle was assaultable, and on his return reported the fact. It was thereon agreed that he should lead the attack; and the cowardice of the Munster guard was such that, on seeing the outworks taken, the governor appointed by Taaffe surrendered the whole place. Thus was reduced a castle which, in 1599, held out for two months against the Earl of Essex and an army of 20,000 men, and thus was the most important fortress in all Munster lost to the confederates by want of judgment in the general who was appointed to oppose Inchiquin, who had made himself master of the "art military" in the Venetian wars.

Having fortified himself in Cahir, Inchiquin began to make raids into the surrounding country, and his soldiers, who a short time before had

nothing but roots to subsist on, were now abundantly supplied with every necessary. The finest county in Ireland lay open to them, and in a very short time they destroyed £20,000 worth of corn. It would appear that there was collusion between Taafe and Inchiquin, for whenever the latter advanced, the former fled; nor did he fire a shot while Murrough was butchering the peasantry and burning their crops. His third* raid on the Cathedral and city of Cashel, in Sept. (1647), lends colour of truth to this suspicion, for Taafe, on hearing of the reduction of Cahir, left a few detachments on the ROCK, and retired with the great bulk of his forces. A Jesuit father, who witnessed the massacre and pillage, has left us the subjoined account which we transfer to our pages from the Rinuccini Paperst:—

“Desiring to make himself master of the whole province of Munster, Inchiquin, hearing that Taafe with his 500 horse had retired from Cashel, and that most of the town-folk had taken refuge on St. Patrick’s Rock, with their valuables marched instantly from Cahir, and having escalated the city walls without opposition, his army was hospitably entertained that very night by the inhabitants, who suffered them to sleep unmolested. Next day, the vigil of the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, he, assisted by traitors whom we had in

* “This wavering panther, Inchiquin, with so many leaping from parliament to king and king to parliament; degenerating from his noble predecessors in loyalty and religion, being the only Nero in prosecuting the Catholic Church, and apostate Julian in the effusion of the blood of clergy-men, as witness his *thrice* tyrannical behaviour in Cashel, where he executed upwards of thirty persons of said function, buying others for £5 a piece to execute them, or, as a covetous drover, to sell them for a higher rate.”—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 182.

† De hæresis Anglicanæ in Hiberniam intrusione Commentarius.—*The Bishop of Ossory’s Copy.*

our midst, reconnoitred the rock, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with its strong and weak points. Having made the reconnaissance, he divided his troops into three separate corps, to act against the three weak faces of the rock. He then sent a trumpeter who summoned our men to surrender on the following conditions:—The garrison to march out with all honours of war, and the citizens and clergy to submit themselves to his lordship's discretion. And here we may admire the valour of our troops, who, having sworn to defend the people and priests, replied that they would sacrifice their lives rather than yield the holy place to puritan dogs. This bold answer enraged Inchiquin. At a signal given, a brand fell (some say accidentally) into the piazza where stood the convent of the Friars Minors, which was instantly reduced to ashes. The three divisions then made a simultaneous assault, never halting until they got up to the wall, and were thus sheltered from the fire of our men, who, owing to the height of the tower in which they were posted, could not take fair aim at the enemy. Our citizens and soldiers carried on the fight, not with muskets, but with stones; mounting the walls they hurled down the pursuing enemy until overborne by numbers—the puritans pouring in through a door on the north side of the rock—(and this indeed was the chief cause of our defeat) they were forced to retreat into the precincts of the cathedral.

“Hardly had ours retired when they were suddenly surrounded by large detachments of Inchiquin's, and in the very cemetery the conflict was waged with fluctuating success on both sides. Such of ours as remained outside were massacred; but the spot where the puritans achieved the most signal success was in the very body of the holy place. Its two great gates, one looking south and the other west, were attacked with incredible ferocity; but ours valiantly repulsed the assailants, who made their way into the church through the windows. Now, ours were attacked in the rear, but they maintained a stubborn struggle; and such were the outbursts of fury and the running hither and thither, that nothing could be heard but the bickering of swords. The fight in the church lasted about an hour, with equal bravery on both sides, but not on equal conditions. Inchiquin's men polluting that most sacred citadel—I will not say of all Munster, but of all Ireland, with unheard of sacrilege, ours crimsoning it with the blood which they had devoted to God and his church. But as the combat waxed

fiercer, and ours, reduced in numbers, began to give way, some betook them to the bell-tower, up the stairs of which the enemy followed them. Here they were summoned to surrender, and seeing that they had not food or drink, and that superior numbers must eventually destroy them, they yielded after having made terms for life. But the enemy kept not faith with us, for after our swords had been flung down in heaps, the Puritan officers gave orders that our people should be killed on the spot. Then there was a sudden onfall, many of ours being put to the sword, some of the wealthier made prisoners, and others escaping to the vaults of the church; but, except a few, all were haled out and either slain or made prisoners. The mayor and pastor of the city, and the mayor's son, concealed themselves in a secret and strong chamber of the church, nor were they removed thence until they had stipulated for their lives. And such was the termination of this massacre, of this most unparalleled and abominable atrocity, in which 812 Catholics were slain, and at least 500 of Inchiquin's sacrilegious hirelings. Of ecclesiastics, three secular priests, the prior of the Dominicans, two Franciscans, and one Jesuit fell bravely and edifyingly for their holy religion. Old men whose only weapon was the rosary were slain before the altars along with children and women; for Inchiquin's soldiers had no regard for sex or age."

The loss at Dungan's-Hill was disastrous, but not irreparable, although the army of Leinster was annihilated, and the confederates had not a single garrison between Dublin and Kilkenny. A few months before Muskerry denounced Owen O'Neill's Ulstermen as outer barbarians for having plundered some women in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, and advised them to wait on the Nunzio, and represent to him the licentiousness of his favourite troops. But the Council forgot all this in their need, now that Jones was flushed with victory, and might at any moment swoop down on Kilkenny. They, therefore, commissioned the bishop of Ferns to wait on Owen Roe, who was then about to besiege the castle of Enniskillen, and implore him to

march without delay into Leinster. Their prayer was granted, and O'Neill at the head of 12,000 men advanced with lightning speed, and pitched his camp between Portlester and Dungan-Hill, where as yet the corpses of Preston's soldiers lay unburied. Standing in front of his army, and commanding a halt, the Catholic general breathed forth this lachrymal speech:—

“Fellow-soldiers, be not dismayed at this sad sight, nor deem the enemy against whom you now march too valiant, for the ill posture of the ground was the cause of this disaster. Tyranny, craft, and no valour or courage has been the occasion of the present abomination—examine in the deepest of your judgments who be these that now offer themselves to your view! None other than such as relieved you in your need, your friends and allies, your kinsmen, your flesh and blood—you are the pledges of their revenge. Never hope for better quarter at the hands of their executioners if you fall into their power. Such is your doom if not prevented in time. You now go to the enemy's quarters, this late victory has made him bold. He will not, I am sure, venture upon the body of an army, but will watch pillagers and vagabonds; wherefore, I command you, on pain of death, not to range here or there, but keep still in a body to do service. Be courageous and vigilant. This enemy is no better soldier than these you vanquished in the North. Let not their late victory, got by ill-management in the field, damp your courage. I am satisfied of your valour. History is the calendar of time, and has her critic days as well as physic, whereby conceit forehopeth of good success, as art forejudgeth of the decrease of a disease, for we have it exemplified that certain days have been always successful to certain persons, which howsoever some men may interpret to fate and necessity, and others to some other cause or accident, yet it is the part of a wise leader to make use thereof, and to nourish that former conceit in the common soldier, because he shall thereby encourage him to alacrity of spirit, and hope of victory—*cui pariter dies et fortuna fecit*;—that certain days are successful to certain persons and nations,—if we believe antiquity, is as true as we stand here, as Tuesday to the English, Saturday to the French; but, to the Spaniard,

Friday, of whose extraction we are, and consequently challenge the said Friday as our own ever yet, as we have experienced in our last battle of Benburb to your eternal honour, the same being now that you began your march, no doubt will quicken your spirits and renew your courage never forget the memory of these slaughtered friends—never forget that the defence and safety of Catholics, the vindication of Roman religion, the enlargement of your friends and allies in duration is justifiable before God and man. Therefore, my hearts of gold, refreshing your memories with these motives, march, speed, and thrive!"—Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 164-5.

So spake the Irish Germanicus, who, having concluded, commanded his troops to give Christian sepulture to Preston's killed, which they did with "deep sobs, attested with abundance of saltrie tears."—*Ibid.*

From Cashel Inchiquin marched on Fethard, which surrendered at discretion. Clonmel remained to be taken. But M'Coll, who escaped from the slaughter at Dungan Hill, with a single regiment of his "redshanks," closed the gates, and dared Inchiquin to the contest. Knowing well of what mettle M'Coll was made, Inchiquin retired from before the town, and fell back on Cahir, while Taaffe, with 7,000 men, hastened into the County of Tipperary. The parliament applauded Inchiquin, and as he complained that Lord Lisle was about to supplant him in the presidency of Munster, fearing to displease him, they refused to renew Lord Lisle's commission. Inchiquin was therefore proclaimed president, and had hardly retired from Clonmel, when he received large supplies of men and money from England.

It was a critical period in the history of the confederates, and they had good reason to apprehend that Inchiquin would sooner or later take the

field, and march straight on Kilkenny. O'Neill, who was encamped between Trim and Portlester, had cooped up Jones in Dublin, and prevented him from attempting the capture of the confederate head-quarters; but it was too much to expect that Owen Roe could, single-handed, encounter two generals sustained by the English parliament.

Taafe was the only hope they had in Munster, and now that the time for the next general assembly was approaching, he received orders towards the middle of October, to watch Inchiquin's movements, and, if possible, to destroy him. It was warmly argued in the council of Kilkenny, that the season was too far advanced to resume hostilities, but the party which was always doubting the sincerity of Ormond's adherents, prevailed, and orders were issued, commanding Taafe to attack Inchiquin when a favourable opportunity presented itself. Early in November, the latter advanced towards Mallow, and encamped there till the 12th of the month. Taafe had no alternative, and resolved to fight. His army consisted of 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse. Inchiquin's did not amount to more than 5,000 foot and 1,200 horse, with an excellent train of artillery. On the 12th Taafe quitted his quarters at Kanturk, and encamped on Cnocados,* a few miles west of Mallow. Associated with this place, there was a prophecy, that the representative of the MacDonagh should there win a battle and recover his patrimony. Now, it so happened that Taafe's grandfather had got the estates of the MacDonaghs, as reward for his services against the Irish,† in the late wars of the

* *Anglice*, Shrubb-hill.

† MacEgan, bishop of Ross, was slain (1602) in Carberry, by a detachment under Captain Taafe.—Carew MS. 1602, p. 146.

Earl of Tyrone, and, by a strange sort of logic, the general concluded that he was the representative of the clan MacDonagh in a far more agreeable sense than that of lineage. The vain man regarded this as a presage of victory, and therefore entrenched himself on that hill. "He had with him three Connaught regiments, his own brother Colonel Taaffe, Colonel Burke, Colonel MacDonnell, and Colonel Alexander-M'Coll-MacDonnell's 1,500 'redshanks.' Taaffe was double more numerous than his antagonist, and had for his lieutenant General Purcell of Croe."*

Inchiquin was little disposed to risk a battle, but at the instance of Colonel Semple and other officers recently come from England, he was induced to change his mind. Both armies were in view of each other on the 13th. Inchiquin, seeing the danger of attacking his enemy on the hill, at Garryduff, and sent this cartel to Taaffe.—
"MY LORD,—There is a very fair piece of ground betwixt your lordship's army and ours, on this side the brook, whither if you please to advance we will do the like. We do not so much doubt the gallantry of your resolution, as to doubt you will not come; but do give you this notice to the end, you may say we do stand upon no advantage of ground, and are willing to dispute our quarrel upon indifferent terms, being confident that the justness of our cause will be, this day, made manifest in the Lord, and that your lordship's judgment will be rectified concerning your lordship's humble servant,—INCHIUIN. Nov. 13th, 1647."

No answer being returned, Inchiquin advanced and took a position on the right of a hill, where he

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 174.

planted his guns, and opened fire on 3,000 Scotch and Irish commanded by M'Coll, and two regiments of horse, led by Purcell; Taaffe himself being on the left with 4,000 infantry and two regiments of cavalry as a reserve. MacDonnell's "redshanks," or northern Irish, after a few volleys, dashed impetuously down the slopes, and throwing away their pieces, slew Inchiquin's artillerymen with their broad swords, seized the guns, and then attacked the left of Inchiquin's position, which they chased off the field for a distance of three miles, killing 2,000 of them while they lost but five. Lord Castleconnell's regiment now advanced from its position on the hill to attack Inchiquin in front, but they were so vigorously met by the latter, that after a few volleys they broke and fled, and were immediately followed by the rest of the Munster troops. In vain did Taaffe call on them to rally; with his own hand he killed some of the fugitives, but they were panic-struck and could not be brought back. The cavalry, under Purcell, followed the infantry, and Inchiquin turned his whole force on the few brave men who had seized his guns. So sure were these that Inchiquin was in full retreat, that they were resting on the ground, and had not time to re-load, when they were shot down and piked. The gallant M'Coll, or, as he was commonly called, "Allisdrum," who was now returning to his men, was met by fourteen of Inchiquin's cavalry, and having killed four of them with his own hand, was assassinated while parleying with an officer. Taaffe's conduct on this occasion was disgraceful, and a stain upon the national character. The confederates lost 4,000 killed on the field, 6,000 arms, 38 pairs of colours, the general's tent and baggage,

not to mention officers slain and made prisoners, while the enemy's loss was comparatively trifling. Writing to Lenthal, Inchiquin bore testimony to the bravery of M'Coll, thus: "None truly fought but the regiments commanded by MacDonnell, the rest having fled to Liscarroll and Newmarket."

The narrative of the defeat at Cnocnados, given in the Aphorismical Discovery, is so interesting that we reproduce it here:—

"But O horrid and inhumaine treason, Generall Taaffe, Lieutenant Generall Purcell and Colonell Gradie conspired against the innocent bloude of that great warrior Alexander McDaniell and his three valiant reddshankes, like another Judas against our Saviour, compounded with the enemye (sayinge, as he said) *quid vultis nobis dare et eos vobis trademus*, what will you give us, and will relinquishe them in the battle to your proper devotion, without givinge the leaste succor? £1500 was assigned, *pretium sanguinis*. O damnable contracte! O infernall and graceless merchants! O more than miserable buyers! Why did not you feare the rigor of Gods wrathe inflicted on such betrayers, and executioners of the shedding of innocent bloude, wherof holy writte is plentiful? What was Gods indignation against Cain for murtheringe his brother Abell? the verie insensible and tough element the earth cryed to his Creator for vengeance: What punishment desearved David for the murther of Urias Hetheus? pronounced by divine oracle and published by the Prophet Nathan. The execution of Joab for his several murthers sometime General of Kinge David's armie was deseruedly inflicted by Solomon? What Judas himself that sould our Redeemer, the divine providence ordained him to be his proper hangman and executioner, *suspendit se laqueo et suspensus crepuit medius*. The Jewes the buyers ever since, without kinge, lawe or religion or any permanent place, but in all the world vagabonnds. Doe you thinke or perswade yourself any better event to waite on you? or doe you conceaue God not see just now as then? In one thing you proved better merchants then Judas [for you got 20s le piece, where he got but 30ds in all. But worse than he, for he did acknowledge his faulte (though not with intente to thrive penitent) *peccavi, tradens sanguinem justi*; but in

you was not founde soe much grace as to doe the like though desperat of remission, as your exemplar. The motion was embraced, the covenant concluded upon, as provisoe indorsed, that if the warlike reddshanke did hapen to be taken upon quarter, not to comply the same, but to kill him, though against the lawe of armes and nations. This tragedie was to be acted on Shrubbhill, or in Irish Cnocnandos, where both armies arrived, in sight of eache other, addressed themselves for battle, the enemie planted his field pieces. Taaffe had none, the right hande of the field was allotted to this Machabeyan souldier and his reddshankes, his taske was to give the first onsett, which he performed on the enemie with such an undaunted courage that he caused all the armie suspense, rather wonderinge at his valorous charge, than any way able to oppose it, gained ground so farr, that in a thrice was master of the enemie ordinance. His proper Generall obsearvinge, how he was too farr engaged, insteede of relievinge or secondinge him, oblivious of all honor and worth, comanded the rest of his armie to march out of the field, leavinge this onelie gentleman in action against the enemie multitude. Richard Buttler, Ikerrin's sonne, obsearvinge this brave comannder forsaken, and exposed to slaughter, the Generall marchinge treacherously with his armie out of field, addressed himself towards the Generall, asked whether did he go? or what did he intende? and besought him with all vehemencie possible, to turne and relieue that brave champion McDaniell, for allmost the field was his owen alreadie, and beinge reliued, without question was theires, and this fayleinge, said he, to bringe him with honor from off the field. The Generall disdainfully answered, that he would not turne or cause any relife; for my parte replied Buttler, I'd rather perish in that battle, than to be subjecte to soe ignominious a staine, and irrevocable an aspersion, as my house and bloud may be subjecte unto, for relinquishinge this brave warrior, soe cowardly: and though alone I will venture the battle to the extreame hazard of my life, onely to share in honor for future ages, with that martiall broode. By the livinge lord, said the Generall, if you would once offer to doe it, I would pistle you. Buttler mightie offended, and most sensible of both proper and alien affronte, tould that he would bullett him, like an archtraytor, as he was, if once attemptinge the same, with this parted to the field (nothinge esteeminge his life, in respecte of honor and credit)

to asiste McDaniel, whoe all this interim, never dreamed what was don on either side, but making such a havock among the enemie, in proper person, that was admirable. The enemie obsearvinge the Irish Generall and his armie out of the field, havinge nowe onely to deale with the redshannks and Buttler, the left winge that should be the task of the alreadye goen armie, to oppose, gave a wheele and came in the reare of the redshannks, who verily beleevinge those to be their owne untill experience taught them to their losse the contrarie, then began the mortalitie on either side, the event doubtfull, untill at lenght, the heroicke and valiant redshannks, never yeldinge, but rather gaininge ground, were all for the most part slaughtered, their warlike chieftaine behavinge himself like another Jonathas, that none durst aneere him, noe such feates was seene by our progenitors acted by an ordinarie man (unlesse assisted by a higher power) whoe could not be either killed, vanquished, or taken prisoner, but of his owne accorde, seeinge the mortalitie of his men and his owne present danger, yelded upon quarter of life and armes. But, alas! nowe in restraint, his quarter signed by unnaturall and tyrannicall Insichuyn, ridinge behinde a horseman, one Purdon, a captaine of horse, comynge to him with a naked sword, did thrust him through, contrarie to all the lawes of both armes and nations (though not against covenante), it gives life unto these surmishes, that the partie offendinge in so transcendent a degree was never punished, nay, not so much as a bare checke, rather honoured, esteemed, and promoted. Noble Richard Buttler was taken prisoner in this field, wherby acquired imortall fame. Noe sooner Taaffe informed of this defeate, and of the death of valiant McDaniel, but rode with his armie, with all expedition to Limbrick with the sounde of a trumpett, as if victorious cominge home for triumphe.”*

The news of this victory was hailed in England joyfully; fanatics from their pulpits, and members of the House of Commons, extolling Inchiquin, to whom they sent £10,000 for his army and £1,000 for his own good services in “fighting the battle of the Lord.” As for M’Coll, his remains were piously

* Part I., p. 174-5.

interred by Donogh O'Callaghan, of Clonmeen, in his own ancestral tomb,* and some sympathetic ecclesiastic, we suppose, penned the subjoined epitaph, for the English version of which the editor is indebted to John, son of Denis Florence MacCarthy, M.R.I.A. :—

“ Ad Nossas heros vicit, victorque perivit
Venditus a sociis, emptus ab hoste, suis.
Infelix praxis Judæ, non Martis alumni,
Qui patriam tradens vendidit ære ducem.
Inversum fatum, Taffum, tunc nominis esse,
Dum lætum in tristem, verterat arte diem.”

“ At Noss, in victory's hour, by craft beguiled
Of faithless friends, to cruel foes betrayed,
Allaster died : not Mars', but Judas' child
Wrought the fell deed, unhappy *Tafe*, that made
The world reverse the name thy guilt defiled,
Upon that fatal day, when Erin wept and smiled.”

In concluding this chapter we may observe that the compiler of the Rinuccini Papers regarded M'Coll as one of the most distinguished soldiers of his day :—

“ Militem præstantissimum vix orbem terrarum in nostra memoria peperisse similem,”—

and that his memory is still preserved in a dirge-like strain of music known as M'Allastrum's March.

* “ Alexandri corpus ad suas ædes in vicinio positas, transportandum curavit nobilissimus dynasta, O'Callaghanus, et in majorum suorum sepulchro sepelivit.” His *English* epitaph, from the Nunzio's Papers, will be found in Appendix.

CHAPTER IX.

THE disaster of Cnocnados was communicated a few days afterwards by Taaffe to the general assembly, which met at Kilkenny on the 12th November, and which could now command a majority entirely devoted to the policy of lord Ormond. One of their first acts was to command Taaffe to proceed to Kerry and reduce Castle-Maine, held for O'Sullivan and Daniel MacCarthy, whose devotedness to the Nunzio, earned for them the epithet of "refractory members." The castle, impregnable, and inaccessible by nature, was treacherously surrendered to Taaffe, who had instructions to deliver it, along with other strongholds, to Inchiquin, whenever he agreed to a cessation.

Inchiquin, informed of Taaffe's movements, took the field, reduced some garrisons in Tipperary, and wasted the county, unopposed by the latter, whose army was more numerous and better appointed than his. Meanwhile, Owen Roe had petitioned the council to allow him to quarter his army for the winter in Naas and Harristown, engaging to cut off all supplies from Jones' garrisons in Dublin and its vicinity. "Upon your failing herein," wrote O'Neill, "the enemy will spoil the counties—Wicklow and Kildare—and take what garrisons and corn are there, in lieu of their own that I demolished." This offer being rejected, he proposed to march with his army to the county of Cork, "where," said he, "I will force Inchiquin to retire to his garrisons, and will have my winter quarters despite him." Muskerry answered, "On your march you will waste the Catholic quarters."

The general replied, "that he would not take a farthing's worth of any in the Irish quarters without paying for it." But this also was refused, and the council then ordered the Ulster army to be scattered, the horse to quarter in Clare, O'Neill's lieutenant general's regiment in the County Galway, Maguire's in Westmeath, major-general Hugh O'Neill's in Clonmel, the Iveagh and Tyrconnell (regiment) in County Tipperary, and the general's own in the Counties of Wicklow and Wexford. Foreseeing that the enemy would soon enter the County Kildare, he desired the supreme council to allow him to gather his men though far asunder to the field, to keep Jones from crossing the Liffey; but they would not allow him a single regiment to wait on himself in Rheban or Athy. Jones, certified of this, marched to Kildare, which was all lost unto a little nook, as the council would not authorize O'Neill either to defend or demolish the castles there. This, doubtless, seemed to foreshadow their future negotiations with Inchiquin.*

Never before did the council of the confederates meet under more gloomy auspices. Within four months they had lost two armies, and the ravages of war were such that the country remained untilled, and looked as if it had been struck with the curse of sterility. The first question submitted to the consideration of the assembly was the unhappy state of the country, almost ruined by the dissensions of its own children. With a feeling of devotion as intense as ever, the Ormond party now looked to England in the hope of effecting some accommodation with the king. But the

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 176.

project of sending deputies to the royal person was abandoned, when news reached of his captivity in Carisbrooke Castle. The immediate effect which this intelligence produced, was the publication of an edict from the assembly, calling the people to arms, and offering, to all officers who would desert Inchiquin's standard, the same grade which they held in their former employment, provided they declared for the confederates.

As the means for protracting the war were now totally exhausted, the question of a foreign protectorate was openly mooted in the assembly; and among foreign princes who were deemed most eligible, the pope was the first whose name was introduced. Nor were the agents from the French and Spanish courts inactive whilst this question was being discussed. These two courts had a serious interest in that subject, and both advanced rival claims. Ireland was, for both, a nursery of soldiers, and a singular instance of their mutual jealousies is recorded as having taken place early in this year. MM. Tallon and Diego della Torre had enlisted several regiments for their respective crowns, and sailed from Waterford with the levies; but they had hardly cleared the Irish coast when Tallon attacked Torre's ships, and carried all his recruits to France. The French envoy therefore pressed the claim of his government as more likely to be beneficial to Ireland in case a foreign protectorate was determined on, to the exclusion of Spain, which he represented as intriguing with the English parliament. But their pretensions did not meet much encouragement from the assembly.

As to the pope, no matter how earnestly the Nunzio might have wished to have him proclaimed protector, his inability to furnish supplies of money

would have been sufficient reason for negating such a choice. But, irrespective of this consideration, the Instruction which the Nunzio received from his court, "not to let that point ever come into consultation," was quite enough to forbid any speculation of the kind.

But these discussions were introduced into the assembly by the Ormondist faction, without any real view to their realization, and their grand aim was to restore Ormond to power. The Nunzio and prelates had thought that the queen would have appointed Glamorgan, now earl of Worcester, to the viceroyalty; but Ormond, who had been at St. Germain's, succeeded in lowering the earl in Her Majesty's esteem, and depriving him of all chance in that direction.

It was about this period that a book* entitled

* "Constantine O'Mahony, otherwise known by the name of Cornelius a S. Patricio, (by which he passed in Portugal, where he lived a long time at St. Roch, in Lisbon), was born in Muskerry, in the County Cork, was a Jesuit, of a most violent temper, and a bitter enemy to the English Protestants of Ireland. He published a book under the feigned name of Constantine Marullus, entitled '*Disputatio Apologetica et Manifestiva de Jure Regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus Hæreticos Anglos. Frankfurt, 1645. 4to.*' To which is added '*Exhortatio ad Catholicos Hiberniæ.*' Peter Walsh is of opinion that this Treatise was printed in Portugal, notwithstanding the title page says at Frankfort; and Mr. Belling is positive that it was not printed at Frankfort.

"It is not doubted but Mahony was the author of this book, and the Exhortation; for he owned it openly at Lisbon, to John Serjeant, a Priest, who told it to Peter Walsh. Mahony's design in writing this Treatise was to excite the Irish to persist in their rebellion, and to continue the massacre of those heretics, the English, whereof they had cut off (as he confesses) no fewer than 150,000 in four years' time. He endeavoured to prove that the kings of

"An Apologetic Discussion," falsely attributed to an Irish Jesuit, was brought to Ireland and widely circulated. The scope of the work, written by some one in the interest of lord Ormond, was to invalidate England's title to the sovereignty of the sister country, and to stimulate the Irish to elect a king from among themselves. It was therefore given out by the Ormondists that the Irish Catholics meant to proclaim Owen O'Neill king, and renounce their allegiance to Charles the First.*

England never had any right to Ireland, but that their title was mere usurpation and tyranny. He produces a Bull of Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, granted to Owen Roe O'Neill in 1642, whereby all the actors in the bloody massacre of the foregoing year are blessed, and plenary Indulgences granted to all who shall assist in the future advancement of the Catholic cause against the heretics of England. He says that the *Old Irish* might lawfully choose themselves a king of their own Irish blood, nay, that they ought in conscience to do it, and throw off the yoke of heretics and foreigners. He exhorts them to extirpate the English, their manners and religion out of the nation, and to murder and destroy all that favour or adhere to them, or who sprung from them, although they were papists and their nearest relations."—Ware's *Irish Writers*.

* "The Instruction (Istruzione) given to the Nunzio before leaving Rome, dispels all doubt of the authenticity of the Bull of Adrian IV. 'Henry desiring to subjugate Ireland, had recourse to Adrian, and from that pontiff, who was an Englishman, obtained abundantly all he asked, Henry's zeal for the conversion of all Ireland to the Faith, induced Adrian to bestow on him the dominion of that island. Among others, three conditions accompanied the great gift. The first obliged the king to propagate the Christian religion through the island; the second, that every house should annually pay to the Apostolic See, one penny, commonly called St. Peter's coin—*denaro di S. Pietro*;—the third, that the rights, privileges, and immunities of all the churches should be preserved inviolate. Henry, having become master of Ireland, immediately planted there colonies of his English, and strove to bring back

At no former period were the partizans of lord Ormond less disposed to act vigorously against the parliamentarians in the south, where the prejudice they fomented against O'Neill in great measure caused the disasters at which we have glanced. Even now, when the latter offered to take the field at the head of a large force and crush Inchiquin, they refused to countenance such a movement, simply because they dreaded the General of the Ulster army, as if he meant to exterminate them, and hated the Nunzio as though he were in league with him to wrest the glebe lands from the lay impropiators. Instead of acting vigorously against their enemies at home, they preferred sending a deputation beyond seas to collect monies and bring over the prince of Wales, and to insist on the immediate recall of lord Ormond.

After a month's discussion, a draft of the instructions to the agents was submitted to the supreme council, and approved and subscribed by nine prelates, and six lay peers. The Roman agents were commanded to assure Innocent X. that the confederates would insist on the free and public exercise of religion and appointment of a Catholic viceroy, who would publish the religious articles and the civil simultaneously. Having satisfied the pontiff in this particular, they were to ask him for aids in money and munitions, and to state that in case a satisfactory settlement could not be had with the king's majesty, they would implore His Holiness to take on himself the protectorate over Ireland. The (*ridurre*) the gone-astray Irish (*traviati Irlandesi*), to the observance of law and true religion." This, doubtless, shows that Innocent X. regarded Ireland as a fief of the Holy See, and that his predecessor, Breakspeare, gave it to King Henry."—Istruz. & Monsignor Rinuccini. Nunz. in Ibernica, p. xlii.

agents appointed for France and Spain were to solicit arms and money, and every assistance which said courts could afford to obtain a good peace ; but in case such could not be had, and that the pope would decline the protectorate, they were to ascertain where it could be placed most for the advantage of the Irish nation, and act as circumstances warranted.

An important point remained to be settled before the departure of the deputies—the appointment of members who were to act in the assembly while awaiting the result of their appeal to foreign powers. As members might be absent on an occasion when orders were to be issued or signed, lord Muskerry proposed that supernumeraries should be chosen to fill their places, and the result therefore was that forty-eight—all creatures of Ormond—were elected. The prelates protested against this arrangement ; and the bishop of Ferns, seeing that his absence was an artifice devised by the anti-clerical body, would fain withdraw from the embassy ; but the Ormondists were now in a majority, and the council were, almost to a man, in favour of their views.

The prelates knew that Ormond would never consent to any peace that would leave the Catholics in possession of the churches and church revenues ; and they accordingly drew up an instrument in which they set forth that they would never consent that the queen or prince of Wales should be invited over until the religious articles were secured ; or that they would accept any peace that did not guarantee the public exercise of their religion.

French and Plunket sailed from Waterford on the 10th of February ; but, meeting with storms,

were forced to put back, and sailed again on the 17th. They brought with them a memorial signed by Owen O'Neill and eight bishops, entreating the pope to advance Rinuccini to the dignity of cardinal. Muskerry and Brown sailed soon afterwards; nor should it be forgotten that there was a strict understanding between the Nunzio and Muskerry, that special provision should be made for restoring the Old Irish to their estates in Ulster. But Muskerry was not sincere when he agreed to this, for he had no notion that such justice should be done the kinsmen and maintainers of the man who had been a thorn in the side of Ormond. The Earl of Antrim, whose services in the king's cause entitled him to a much higher place in the royal esteem, sailed before his colleagues, fully persuaded that he would immediately be appointed lord lieutenant. But he was a Catholic, and soon discovered that he had been deluding himself.

The French deputation landed at St. Malo on the 14th of March, and soon afterwards waited on the queen at St. Germain. Taaffe and Preston, who were now siding with the Ormond party in the cry for peace, forwarded private instructions to the latter, assuring him of their devotion to his interests, but, above all, of their hatred of the Nunzio, O'Neill, and the prelates, whom they represented as plotting the introduction of some foreign power. They also stated that they desired nothing so much as the advent of the prince of Wales, and instructions to march against O'Neill, and entreated to be furnished with such mandates as would render them in all things conformable to the royal desires.

On the question of religion, however, they were profoundly silent, as it had been agreed that this point should not be touched till some communica-

tion came from the deputies who had gone to Rome. The subject that interested them most regarded temporal concessions, calculated to secure to them their estates; nor did they get a final answer from the queen till the 13th of May. That answer rated them on their rebellious conduct in rejecting the former peace; and to this source were ascribed all the misfortunes of Ireland and of the king himself. Adverting, to the question of religion, her majesty assured the Marquis of Antrim, in particular, that, under existing circumstances, there was no giving them a conclusive answer; but she assured them that she would soon give them some such, and that the person authorized to convey it should be instructed in whatever was consistent with justice and his majesty's honour.

Ormond, who had been secretly treating with Inchiquin before the surrender of Dublin, continued to correspond with him, for Inchiquin was to the parliament what Preston was to the confederates, fond of changing sides, and actuated more by private resentments than by any sense of duty or honour. The vacillation of both was of great use to Ormond, who made no secret of his satisfaction when he learned that "Murrough of the burnings" had once more declared for the king. The monies which had been advanced to him by the parliament he said were insufficient for the payment and maintenance of his troops; and, after a brief interval, he again took the field, and threatened to repeat the tragedy of Cashel in the city of Waterford. The vigilance of the garrison, however, compelled him to abandon the project, and he marched into the county Kilkenny, where he levied contributions and mal-

CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY.

treated the peasantry. Jones, whose army was reduced to great straits in Dublin, finding that O'Neill's troops had retired, marched out of the city, and secured provisions, after reducing Maynooth castle, which was but feebly garrisoned. Indeed, the simultaneous movements of Inchiquin and Jones made many think they were in collusion.

The dread of O'Neill saved Kilkenny at this moment, for Inchiquin had not the ability or the force to meet him; and the mischief he had done up to the present did not amount to more than mere border raids, so much so, that at a meeting of the supreme council held at Clonmel, the Nunzio announced that Owen Roe was prepared to march into Munster, and quarter his army in the cantonments lately occupied by Inchiquin's troops; but this overture was flouted by the Ormondists, who had rather see O'Neill extinguished than that Inchiquin should suffer molestation.

About the beginning of April colonel Barry, the confidant of Ormond, landed in Ireland from France, and gave out that the marquis had a commission from the king to treat with Inchiquin, and having got a safe conduct from the supreme council, he hastened to their presence, and stated that the Ulster Scots were anxious to change sides, and that nothing was required to unite all parties in a determined league against Jones and the other adherents of the parliament, but the arrival of Ormond. Thereupon the Council wrote to Inchiquin, proposing a truce or cessation of arms, but affecting to think lightly of them, he addressed his reply to doctor Fennell, one of Ormond's veriest creatures, demanding 4,000 dollars per month as the price of his adhesion. The offer was gladly seized by the

council, who would not advance a single fraction for the support of O'Neill and his troops.

A proclamation, calling a meeting of the confederates in Kilkenny on 20th April, was now circulated through the land, and the question to be discussed was the truce with Inchiquin, which the Ormondists regarded as the consummation of their hopes, since it would restore their idol to power; but, on the other hand, the Old Irish and those devoted to the policy of the Nunzio predicted that, in the coming session, the divine pronouncement of a kingdom divided against itself would be realized to the very letter.

Exasperated by this vexatious opposition, which led him to think that he was to be victimized to the prejudices of Muskerry and his colleagues. O'Neill sent word to the council that he would immediately retire to the north, and leave them to shift for themselves. But such was the Nunzio's influence that he induced him to protract his stay in Leinster to watch the movements of the faction which was secretly plotting his ruin. An event had lately transpired which intensified the hatred already conceived for Owen Roe by the Ormondists. Whilst Rinuccini was eagerly expecting the arrival of the Dean of Fermo with supplies of money from Rome, the ship so long expected was signalled from the ramparts of Duncannon, and the Dean landed at Waterford on the 23rd of March. Along with the money there came a brief from the pope to Owen Roe, extolling his devotedness to the religion of his fathers and love of his native land. The sword of Hugh Earl of Tyrone, had been preserved by Father Luke Wadding, and the pontiff, after having blessed the blade, ordered it to be sent to the general of the Ulster

confederates. This simple incident, taken in connection with O'Mahony's book, was the signal for another outcry. O'Neill was to be a king; the book was the diploma of his sovereignty, and that sword the historic symbol of royalty. Henceforth, no matter on what side he stood, as long as a man could be found to oppose him, O'Neill was doomed to destruction by the anti-Nunzio faction.

The Nunzio was in Waterford when a letter from the supreme council, now packed with the adherents of Ormond, invited him to attend the assembly. But an intercepted despatch from Inchiquin, which revealed a conspiracy against the life of O'Neill, had fallen into his hands, and some dark hints about an attempt to be made on his own person, caused him to pause.

Before venturing amongst them, he wrote in reply to their summons, a letter, in which he implored them to make no truce with Inchiquin. He adjured them to consider well the character of the man whose hand they were now ready to grasp—a hand red with the blood so wantonly shed at Cashel. "What!" wrote the Nunzio, "are you now going to give Inchiquin those monies which, if properly allocated, would send O'Neill's army into the south, and utterly destroy those hirelings, who, disregarded by the parliament, are driven by necessity to court your friendship? Europe is shocked at the atrocities of this man, and will you parley with him when you ought avenge your brethren, sacrilegiously murdered and plundered by his followers. Cessations and truces have been the ruin of the country, and will you make terms with a man who, but for the famishing state of his troops would not dare to take the field? Let me

supplicate you to do something worthy of yourselves and the confederation. You have an army ready to march,—send it into Munster, and leave me free to inform the holy father that you have restored religion, and rescued the peasantry from the cruel raids of a man on whose sincerity you can place no reliance. I will attend your summons, but before I come I have thought it well to put you in possession of my sentiments.”

His epistle met a prompt reply. Inchiquin was fortified in almost all the strong places in the south. It was not now the time to undertake sieges, even though they had the means; and granting that O'Neill's army could be sent into Munster, are we to suppose, said the Ormondists, “that Jones and the other parliamentary generals will remain inactive? What terms can we expect from the queen and prince of Wales, if we reject the overtures of Inchiquin who is willing to fight with us under the same standard and for the same cause? The churches which he has desecrated we will restore, and we will see the peasantry indemnified for their losses. Let us not then reject the overtures of the man whom our refusal will exasperate, and finally induce to give Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale into the hands of the fanatics. Write, therefore, to Rome, supplicate the holy father to send us aid through Plunket and the bishop of Ferns; and now that we are no longer afraid of Inchiquin, let us make a stern struggle for the cause of that king to whom our oath of association binds us.”

But these arguments were unavailing, for the Nunzio had resolved to discountenance the projected truce, arguing that the parliamentarians in Dublin were as badly off as the troops of Inchi-

quin in the south, and that immediate action against both was more necessary than truces and diplomacy. As for the pretended inability of the confederates to carry on the war, he treated it almost contemptuously, and insinuated that the assembly were frightened by groundless apprehensions.

The chief aim of this correspondence was to induce the Nunzio to return to Kilkenny, not for the purpose of gaining his concurrence, but to get from him the money recently sent from Rome. Taking leave of his friends, Comerford, bishop of Waterford, and the brother of Father Luke Wadding, his hospitable host, he arrived in Kilkenny a few days after the meeting of the assembly; where the reverses sustained by the confederate arms and the deplorable condition of the country furnished ample matter for the eloquence and invectives of the contending parties.

"The enemy," said the Ormondists, "is almost at your doors. Jones is ready to march against you, and Inchiquin in the south will soon be in a condition to operate with him if you reject the truce he offers. Surely you cannot hesitate to conclude with him. We are destitute of means, and cannot oppose him. The political articles which he proposes are unobjectionable, and the two which regard religion must prove satisfactory. They are the following—" "It is agreed and resolved, that none professing the Catholic religion, cleric or laic, shall suffer molestation or detriment from the lord Inchiquin, or any of his adherents, on account of the free exercise of religion, and the performance of its functions, during the continuance of this truce, always excepting that it be not practised or *exercised in the garrisons or quarters of the said lord Inchiquin.*

"2ndly. It is agreed and resolved, that the property pertaining to laics and clerics, now in their possession, be secured to them respectively, and continue to them, without any detriment, from the date on which the truce commenced, with the same advantages as before, provided that they submit to this agreement, and do not decline to pay the taxes and afford their contributions to the public cause."

The Nunzio, however, rejected the terms, as far from consonant to the spirit of the oath by which the confederates had bound themselves, and spurned them as disgraceful and dishonourable. "Make no truce with this man," said he; "he has three times changed sides. If you forget the Cashel massacre,* recollect that a month ago he pillaged the town of Carrick and slew the Catholic inhabitants, and endeavoured to palliate the atrocity by asserting he could not restrain his soldiers. Remember, too, that he has driven the Catholic clergy out of the cathedral of Cloyne, and introduced those who do not profess your religion. Talk not of your inability to carry war into his quarters. The army under Jones has been worn out watching O'Neill during the summer, and does not amount to more than 3,000 men. Preston, with the troops levied in Leinster, ought be able to meet him. Inchiquin has not more than 3,000 men in Munster, they are badly armed and half starved, and you ought despise him. In Con-

* "The Councill sworn for the furtherance of the Catholic religion do now shake hands with him that hath his dyed with the blood of many priests in St. Patrick's Rock in Cashel, and tyrannically executed a true child of the Order of St. Francis—namely, Francis Mathew, in Cork. Such a blood-sucker is a fit member to join with Catholics! for the furtherance of their religion."—Aph. Discov., P. 1., p. 190.

naught and Ulster the Scotch are able to do little more than commit robberies for their sustenance. At the present moment Owen O'Neill has an army of more than 6,000 men. He is ready to act against Inchiquin in the south, and I will supply monies to pay his troops. I exhort you to union of heart and purpose; and would remind you that England has never treated you, Catholics, with respect, except when you stood in a united and formidable league."* This energetic remonstrance produced an instantaneous effect, and John Burke, archbishop elect of Tuam—an enthusiastic admirer of Clanricarde—seized a pen and signed the condemnation of the truce. His example was instantly followed by the metropolitans of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel, and the bishops of Killala, Waterford, Limerick, Clogher, Ross, Cork and Cloyne, Clonmacnoise, Emly, Kilfenora, Down and Connor.†

The declaration of the Nunzio and the Prelates alarmed the Supreme Council, who published a manifesto in reply, and commanded General Preston to take the field with horse and foot and hunt down all those who disobeyed.‡ "The prejudicious Cessation." Preston—contrary to his oath and religion—carried out his instructions, and issued orders to his officers to meet him with their detachments on a fixed day in Durrow, in the

* Nunziatura in Irlanda, pp. 312, 420.

† April 27, 1648.

‡ It denounced the Nunzio as creating divisions among Irish Catholics, and warning all whom it concerned that no declaration of his or his adherents could do away with the obedience due to the Supreme Council. It was signed by ten members of the Supreme Council, the most notable of whom were Mountgarret, Athenry, Phelim O'Neill, and Richard Belling.

Queen's county. Apprehensive of being arrested by the Council, the Nunzio and the Bishop of Clogher scaled the garden wall of his residence and proceeded through an unfrequented gate of the city to Maryboro', where Owen Roe was then encamped with a small body of troops hastily collected. This fortunate escape, which reminds one of Paul's from Damascus, was made precisely seven days after the Nunzio's rejection of the truce, and on the 27th of May he pronounced sentence of excommunication and interdict against all who adhered to the said Cessation, and remitted same to be published in Kilkenny. This document (issued from Kilmensie, in the vicinity of Maryboro') was fixed to the church doors in Kilkenny, that none should have excuse, being notified to men of all classes and conditions—army chaplains, secular and regular clergy—that all those who defended or adhered to said ungodly Cessation were thereby excommunicated. The copies posted on St. Mary's Church and that of St. Patrick's were torn down and trodden in the mud by Lord Castlehaven and Doctor Fennell, and the other copies were similarly treated by other such impious members,* notwithstanding the penalty incurred by those who removed or tore same.—“*Amoventes et lacerantes sint ipso jure excommunicati.*”† Finding that Preston was gathering his army, O'Neill sent for his own regiment, then quartered in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, and also for those stationed in the counties of Limerick and Kerry, to march in all haste to Maryboro'. Roger Maguire

* The signatories to the Excommunication are:—Emer, Clogher; Boetius, Ross; Anthony, Clonmacnoise; Robert (Barry), Cork; Arthur Magennis, Down and Connor.

† Aph. Discov.

and Colonel Fox came to him, but the regiments commanded by Phelim O'Neill and Alexander MacDonald declared for the Council against their country and religion. Preston meanwhile was encamped in Roscrea, there expecting Inchiquin's forces. O'Neill, aware of these "drifts and fetches" of Preston, advised the Nunzio to proceed to Kilcolgan, and fix his residence in the house of Terence Coghlan, for whom he cherished the warmest friendship. While staying with O'Neill, the Council wrote to the Nunzio inviting him to return to Kilkenny, and offering to cancel the truce if he would advance them £10,000. In reply he, with the concurrence of the bishops and O'Neill, sent back a draft of propositions, which, after the lapse of ten days, was returned with modifications that were not acceptable. The delay in the transmission was to give Preston time to collect his forces and to surprise O'Neill. On the twelfth day after his arrival in Kilmensie, while the Nunzio and O'Neill were in private conference, a messenger rushed into the apartment and announced that Preston with 10,000 men was marching on Birr, within four miles of the camp. Hearing this, says the Nunzio, an extraordinary change came over Don Eugene's features; he was astounded and grew deadly pale. Preston, however, did not advance, and ignorance of O'Neill's numerical inferiority saved the latter. Bidding a sad farewell to the "Catholic General," whom the severance made weep like a child, the Nunzio with an escort of 200 horse, commanded by Henry O'Neill, set out from Kilmensie—Henry Roe O'Neill's house—for Kilcolgan, the mansion of Terence Coghlan, where he rested some days to learn how the Council would treat the excommunication.

They, aided by Peter Walsh, a refractory Franciscan, and others, appealed to Innocent X., libelling the Nunzio in an instrument that was false, perverse, unchristian, injurious, and perjurious. The Appeal was delivered by Richard Lawless, of Kilkenny, to the Nunzio, on the 5th of June, and on same day he and his delegates gave said Lawless *Apostolos Refutatorios*, which did not suspend the effect of the excommunication, but made said censure to be revolving to the very judge a quo as to stand his sentence. Six months being given to the delegates of the appellants to go and return from Rome, the excommunication was in the interim to be binding; nay, and others of higher degree to be incurred by violation of the former.* While the Nunzio was in Kilcolgan O'Neill issued a proclamation to his troops, in which he denounced the Supreme Council for making terms with "the sworn enemy of the king," to whom they had given two counties in Munster without any security for their restitution whenever the Cessation would expire. He furthermore protested his fidelity to the oath of Association, and charged the Council with having perjurally violated it to the detriment of their common religion and country. We therefore pray the God of hosts—so concludes the manifesto—to withhold his blessing from us if we ever fail to give to Him what is His or to Cæsar what is Cæsar's; and we conjure all confederate Catholics to co-operate with us against all factionaries who, despite the oath of Association, support rebels, to the prejudice of his Majesty and the ruin of this afflicted country.* This was a declaration of war against

* Aph. Discov., P. I. p. 199.

* O'Neill's proclamation was signed by Eugene Maguire, Con O'Neill, Henry O'Neill, Lisagh O'Moore, Brien

the Supreme Council, who a few days before it was published formulated a new oath by which they bound themselves—the excommunication and interdict notwithstanding—to regard all opposing it as traitors to God and man. The effect of the censures, the Nunzio tells us, was marvellous, so much so that 2,000 of Preston's soldiers went over to O'Neill, and thus increased the strength of the Ulster army. Preston, however, cast his lot with the Supreme Council, and told the Nunzio's confessor that he was excommunication proof, and guided by the decision of many bishops and several theologians, who would not admit the validity of the censures. He furthermore stated that he had drawn the sword against O'Neill, and that either of them must perish in the coming conflict. Seventeen bishops maintained the validity of the censures in opposition to those who, although they signed the first condemnation of the truce, retracted and strove by plausible subtleties to justify their inconstancy.* It would appear that they were led to act thus by a series of queries which maintained the lawfulness of the Cessation with a heretic against the common sense and vote of the clergy. Said queries among other instances adduced that of the Kings of France, Hungary, and Poland, who not only made cessations but peace with Turks, the public enemies of all religion. The Queries were fathered on the Bishop of Ossory, by Walsh, "a Protestant English slut's son, who induced several other Franciscans to sign same by the name of divines, the greatest part of whom never saluted even afar off *Pons Asinorum*."†

O'Neill, Philip O'Neill, James MacDonnell, Anthony Fox, Miles MacSwiney, and Owen O'Doherty.

* Aph. Discov., Part I., p. 272.

† Walsh admits that he himself was author of the queries

The Prelates who revolted from the Nunzio and set his censures at defiance were David, Ossory,*

Even the Supreme Council themselves, and those other called then by them to their assistance out of the four provinces, were so startled at the shutting of Churches in observance of the Nunzio's interdict, and the great division of the people at the same time on the point also of the very Excommunication itself, that after the College of Divines (at least such of them as were most industrious) had first conferred notes, and turned books for ten days together, and then laid the whole burthen on me, during the three days and three nights, without shutting once my eyes, continued at one table writing that book, I remember very well how (besides others) Richard Bellings, Esq., a leading member of, and chief secretary to the said Council, came several times from them to my chamber to hasten my dispatch, and to tell me the great danger of delay, being the enemy was in sight, and the people so divided.* And I remember also very well, how for the same reasons, I was forced to watch moreover even the very two next days and nights (immediately following the former three) for studying the first sermon that was preached in Ireland of purpose on the subject of the foresaid censures, against them and the Nunzio. Nor could I, not even for this other reason, otherwise choose. On the Sunday before it was published in all the Churches of the town which kept not the Interdict, that I would next Sunday following preach in the cathedral on the great and then present controversie. To perform which duty (notwithstanding I had not shut my eyes for five days and nights before) God gave me strength. My text was that of Susanna, in the prophet Daniel, *Angustia sunt mihi undique*, Dan. 13-22, viz., answerable to the great perplexity I was in, 'twixt fear of the Nunzio's indignation at one side, if I did my duty; and my belief of God's vengeance threatening me on the other hand, if I did not."—Walsh's "Irish Remonstrance," p. xlv.

* He never shewed himself clement to Regulars, and being now four score years old, and suffering from palsy, could not pen or understand any question that did admit the least difficulty.—Aph. Discov. P. I., p. 272. He, in his vigorous days, did good service to Ecclesiastical literature, as may be seen in the biographical notice in "Irish Hierarchy, Seventeenth Century."

* O'Neill's tents could then be seen from the walls of Kilkenny.

Dease, Midensis;* Walsh, Cashel; John Burke, Tuam; Edward O'Dwyer, Limerick; Lynch, Kilfenora; and Kirwan, Killala.† Writing to Cardinal Panzirolo, July, 1648, he states that Dease should be deposed for having resisted his authority and embittered Preston against Don Eugene. In another letter to same he says, in an undertone of regret, "Dease is not dead but lives, to try the patience of the good." Death however claimed him, in 1651, in the Jesuit's house, Galway. His epitaph, given in "Hierarchy, Seventeenth Century," was composed by Belling, whom the Aph. Discovery styles "a lunatical poet."

The example of the recalcitrant bishops was followed by sundry members of the Regulars—the Minor Friars especially—who were proselyted by the semi-apostate, Peter Walsh. The Jesuits too joined the anti-Nunzio faction, and so did the Discalced Carmelites,‡ led by the prior of Galway and his assistant, Father Brown, who, despite the interdict, continued to celebrate publicly in the churches of that city. The exceptions to this almost universal revolt were the Dominicans, only one of whom—my lord Clanricarde's confessor—went over to the disaffected; and the Capuchins,§

* "A man that spent his time in jollity, composing Irish rhymes, ever averse to the holy war, bearing an inveterate hatred to the old Irish, disobedient to the Nunzio, he caused his priests to run the same scene!"—Aph. Discov., P. I., p. 278. Dease was to the Nunzio what the *stimulus carnis* was to St. Paul, a veritable torment, from which he besought heaven more than thrice to deliver him.

† The Life of this Prelate by Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, (Gratianus Lucius) author of "Cambrensis Eversus," was published by Duffy, Dublin, 1848.

‡ First came to Ireland in 1626 with their prior, Father Donovan, native of Youghal.

§ Came to Ireland same year with their guardian, Edmond



all of whom remained unshaken in their fidelity to the representative of the Holy See. Meanwhile the bishop of Ossory, holding the censures to be invalid, refused to close his churches in Kilkenny or elsewhere, notwithstanding the incisive remonstrance of Archbishop Fleming, who, from his chamber in Cook Street, Dublin, commanded him to have the Interdict duly observed, not only in St. Canice's, but in all the churches subject to his jurisdiction. "Exhorting you to do so," wrote his metropolitan, "I hereby exonerate my own conscience, and leave yours to the divine judgment and censure of the Apostolic See."* Ossory did not heed the remonstrance, and was rendered, if pos-

Ling, native of Cashel. In 1626 Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, bore testimony to the good done by those venerable fathers thus: "We acknowledge that they—although few in number, which we regret—have deserved well of all men by reason of their exemplary life; so much so that the people flock to them in crowds in cities and hamlets." After the lapse of more than two centuries the zealous fathers of this order have raised, to the honour of God, under the invocation of St. Mary of Angels, one of the most graceful churches in the Irish metropolis. The costume of the Capuchins is described by Paul Harris, in his "*Fratres Sobrii Estote*," thus: "The Capuchins have a large frise coat, with a piece of coarse canvas square one half yard upon the back, girded unto them with a rude massive rope, with a great knot before, and unto this coat sowed a steepled hood, or *capuch* (from whence they have the name of Capuchins) of near two feet long from the basis to the *conus*, and over this coat they have a cloak of the same frise, coming a little below the waste." The habit of the Cordeliers, or Franciscans, is described by same, thus: "They have a coat of much better frise, without that square canvas on the back, with a hood, or *capuch*, not steepled at all, but round and fitted to his head a girdle of a cord, from whence his name Cordelier, the same handsomely wrought with many artificial knots, and all placed by equal distances."

* 10th June, 1648.

sible, more obstinate by the bishop of Meath, who, in a letter dated Kilkenny, 17th August, declared that the Nunzio's censures were *natura sua* null and void before the Appeal,* and even though they had been valid, that their effect was suspended by said appeal to Rome. What wonder if the Nunzio wished Meath translated to heaven, along with Ossory, then in his dotage and so feeble that he could hardly leave his chamber! But this divergence of opinion so divided and scandalized the masses that the archbishop of Dublin had good reason for asserting that the Irish prelates could not expect obedience from their flocks if the ordinances of the Nunzio were rejected by those who had sworn special submission to the Apostolic See. Of the prelates who, at this crisis, stood by the Nunzio none was more notable than Comerford, of Waterford, who, replying to an insolent letter, signed, among others, by that convicted peculator, Belling, commanding him to disregard the censures or suffer loss of his temporalities, told them that notwithstanding Ossory's example, he would not for all the world renounce his allegiance to the delegated minister of Rome.†

* "It was rejected as frivolous by Innocent X., and by his successor, Alexander VII., whose bull, dated August, 1665, addressed to the bishops of Raphoe, Leighlin, Clonfert, and Cork, empowers them to absolve from the censures fulminated by the archbishop of Fermo.

† Comerford's name occurs in a list of Irish students educated in Bordeaux at the expense of Cardinal de Sourdis, archbishop of that city, primate of Aquitaine, etc. "Le nombre," says the list, "s'est tellement accru qu'ils se sont departis, les uns a Thoulouse, Cahors, et Agen, exiles de leur pays pour la foy Catholique."—Imprimé a Bourdeaux, 1619. Comerford subsequently joined the Augustinians, and was, says Paul Harris, "The only indifferent friar-bishop unto the clergy that was sent into this kingdom."—"Fratres Sobrii Estote," p. 67.

Yielding to the instances of three prelates* who accompanied him to Kilcolgan,† the Nunzio wrote to Innocent X., that the Appeal against the Censures teemed with gross misrepresentations of himself, and that he would insist—the mendacious statements of the appellants notwithstanding—on the formal observance of the Interdict and excommunication. This defence of his conduct had hardly been despatched when his host one night informed him that the excommunication-proof, Preston, would next day pass by Kilcolgan to join the troops commanded by Viscount Dillon, of Costello. There was not a moment to be lost, and on that very night he, Coghlan, and his retinue, mounted their horses and took shelter in some secure place on

* They were sub-delegates of the Archbishop—namely Boetius, Ross ; Robert, Cork and Cloyne ; Anthony (Geoghegan), Clonmacnoise.

† He was honoured with a brief from Innocent X., and, dying in 1654, was buried in Clonmacnoise, over whose ruins the Nunzio was guided by MacGeoghegan, bishop of the See, since incorporated with Ardagh. The remains of the baronial residence of the head of the MacCoghlans—where the Nunzio was a frequent and welcome guest—may still be seen in the neighbourhood of Kilcolgan.—Cooke's "History of Birr," etc., etc. I am indebted to my kind and learned friend, W. M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., for the preamble to Coghlan's will, which proves that Rinuccini formed a correct estimate of his generous host : "In the name of Jesus Christ and of the glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of the Heavenly Son, I, Terence Coghlan, of Kilcolgan, in the kingdom of Ireland, the 1st of April, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1653, do by this present writing notify to all men that I, Terence Coghlan, sound in body, mind, and intention, considering seriously that the quintessence of wisdom is the meditation of death, which induceth man not only to dispose timely of his temporal affairs by making a just, clear, and perspicuous will, but leads him higher to things tending to the salvation of his soul," etc., etc.

the bank of the Shannon. The alarm and flight, he tells us, did not prevent the Irish servitors from taking auguries from the polar lights, so peculiar to northern latitudes. His next halting place was Athlone,* where he had his final interview with O'Neill, and whence he travelled by slow stages to Galway. Here he learned that the Ormondists had proclaimed O'Neill a rebel and traitor, and had issued orders to arrest anyone who maintained the validity of the censures; nay, more, that they, hoping to gain over the bishops, threatened to deprive them of the churches, for which, said the Supreme Council, we will provide proper subjects. Having imprisoned Massari, Dean of Fermo, they seized all his papers and receipts for monies lent them by the Nunzio, whom they commanded to quit the kingdom as a rebel to the English crown, and unworthy the common necessities of life.† This indeed was social excommunication, whose synonym in our day may be found in slang neology.

O'Neill, meanwhile, having mustered his forces, marched rapidly from the borders of Ulster to Kilkenny, before whose walls he halted, and, although at the head of 1,500 horse and 10,000 foot, deemed it more prudent not to seize the place. Inchiquin was hastening to its relief, and O'Neill did not like to be caught between the city

*In 1646 George Dillon, a Franciscan, and uncle to Lord Costello, hoping to get a mitre from the Nunzio, visited him in Waterford, and promised to take the Castle of Athlone for the confederates. The Nunzio dispatched him thither, where, assisted by another Franciscan, who knew something of the carnal weapon, he contrived by a crafty ruse to surprise that ancient stronghold.—Aph. Discov., P. I., p. 127.

† Nunziatura, p. 426.

and his adversaries.* Raising his camp, he proceeded up the Shannon, towards Lower Ormond, taking all the strongholds along his line of march, and among others, Falklandfort, alias Banagher, in MacCoghlan's country. It was about this period that Athlone was treacherously delivered for a round sum to Clanricard, who, joining his forces to Inchiquin's, marched to dislodge O'Neill from Falklandfort. Having recovered it, after three days' siege, the Ormondists gave out that it was all over with the Ulster army, when, to their amazement, they discovered that owing to the swampy nature of the soil and the river in their rear, they had no way of getting out but by a narrow strip of land where two men could not walk abreast. Here they were cooped up for eight days by the Ulstermen, but Inchiquin made his way out, and offered O'Neill battle, which the latter declined, because he did not then wish to risk the only army that observed the original oath of Association, and because he had already done enough by keeping an army on foot during the summer despite six generals leagued against one. This apology for his conduct did not satisfy the Nunzio, who states that Clanricard, moralising on the Ulster general's inaction, said to some of his people, "to-day I am convinced that God is not with O'Neill."† As for the latter, he returned to the borders of Ulster, to refresh his troops and watch the progress of events.

In Galway, the Nunzio resolved, if possible, to convoke a national synod, which he flattered himself would, despite Clanricard and the three Con-

* "De'esser colto fra la città e gli avversari."—Nunziatura, p. 427.

† Nunziatura, p. 242.

naught prelates who followed that Englishman's lead, avert the misfortunes which loomed in the not far off future. With this object in view, he released every town, Kilkenny excepted, from the Interdict, and absolved all those who with the proper dispositions besought him to do so. But as for the synod, it was not to be, for the Supreme Council dispatched troops of cavalry to arrest the prelates and subordinate ecclesiastics who obeyed the summons. On learning this, O'Neill gave his nephew, Roger Maguire,* 2,000 infantry to open up the road to Galway. With this force this brave

* He was the son of Owen Roe's sister, wife of Lord Maguire, executed at Tyburn. The Confederates made an ample provision for the noble widow. "Maguire," says the Aph. Discov., "filled the ditch of the fort (which was held for Clanricard by Colonel Richard Bourke) with 2,000 fagots, and commanded an assault which exceeds all mediocrity. Maguire, divesting himself of his armour, gave it to Captain M'Camel, who led the assault. Maguire, meanwhile, was noted, and while, by word and deed forcing the soldiers to advance, was killed. My brave men, what will your party do now without their leader? and such a leader, as a flock of sheep without a herd; nay, what will the poor general, your uncle, do that lost such a nephew? O valiant Macabeyan brood, doleo super te, mi frater Jonatha. Woe be to the Catholick armie that lost such a member, and thrice woe unto your noble family! After the killing of this nobleman, the assailants were ignorant of their commander's death, until the defendants, crying out for quarter, surrendered the fort, after having got quarter for their lives only. The Ulstermen looking about and finding their leader dead, all their victory was turned to moan and lamentation, all their joy to sorrow. Now is there no memory of past danger, nothing in all that accursed town heard but repercussion of their martyred palms, and from hills, dales, and rocks the senseless sound of continual fainting echoes, telling plainly to that high Jupiter that the second Astræa of Ulster was there before their faces dead. Their grief was such that a man might think them devoid of all Christian civility rather; but observe in midst of their

soldier and most perfect Catholic* stormed the castle of Carrick-on-Shannon (Carrick-drumruisk), and was killed by a musket shot. The place soon afterwards was confided to the custody of Captain Hugh O'Rourke, who betrayed his trust, and surrendered it to Clanricard. This indeed was a severe blow to Major-General Hugh O'Neill, whose gallant defence of Clonmel and Limerick three years afterwards reflects everlasting honour on the Catholic general's nephew. The Nunzio's sojourn in Galway was rendered very unhappy by Clanricard and his kinsman, John Tuam.† The former arrested, among others, the Provincial of the Franciscans, with letters addressed to the Nunzio, nay, imprisoned the friar and besieged the town for fifteen days, in the hope of seizing the Nunzio's person. As for the archbishop, who was proud, arrogant, and inflexibly obstinate—

sensibility how tender of their promise towards the prisoner's quarter, that now seeing him dead who had been their lord and commander, to whom, under God, they owed their being, never offered the least injury unto the meanest of the vanquished in revenge, but punctually observed the conditions granted in their quarter. Leaving a garrison there, they marched with their chieftain's corps, Colonel Bourke and Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, and other prisoners to Lissmuychan, where the poor general resided. On their arrival the prisoners were lodged in the defunct's own house—an exceeding great humanity in those keepers not to destroy them in revenge of their lord and master. His corps was interred in St. Francis's, of Cavan, where we leave him with a farewell of glory to sleep eternally in Abraham's bosom."—pp. 280, 281.

* "Perfettissimo Cattolico."—Nunziatura, p. 429.

† Reflecting on this baseness, the Aph. Discov. says:—"I see none of these Connaght men as constant as gentlemen should be, in recompence whereof I doubt but the divine clemency will permit perfidious men to deal with them that the punishment may be equivalent with the offence."—P. I., p. 281.

one who would brook no rival near his throne*—he was very chary of respect for the Nunzio, withstood him to his face, and told him that he would not sanction the observance of the censures within his jurisdiction. Ossory was the first to flout the Interdict, and deserved suspension;† but John Tuam and his suffragans, Kirwan, of Killala, and Lynch, of Kilfenora, were to be summoned to Rome, to account for having forced open the gates of St. Nicholas', and publicly celebrated therein, despite the Interdict. The archbishop and the other two prelates, finding the gates bolted on the inside, got some one to descend through the roof and undo bolt and bar—a grievous outrage indeed, which must have reminded the Nunzio of that passage of holy writ, "He that entereth not by the door, but climbeth up, the same is a thief and a robber." The archbishop had also to account for having countenanced the disobedience of the Discalced Carmelites and celebrated in their church; but, above all, for having admonished the rector of Athenry *in scriptis*‡ that he was not to respect the censures until he—John Tuam—shall have examined and approved same—the *until*, in this instance, having the same meaning as in second verse of Psalm one hundred and nine. Very unruly indeed were the Discalced Carmelites for their prior and his companion, Father Brown, although commanded by their superior to betake them to Rome, instead of doing so, went to Kilkenny, and returned to Galway, with a declaration from the Lay Council, that they had not incurred censure of any kind,

* Uomo Superbo ed arrogante.—Rinuccini Papers.

† Nunziatura, p. 376.

‡ "Donec earum fundamenta et rationes discusserimus, easque approbaverimus."—Rinuccini Papers.

because those of the Nunzio were null and void. Like Peter Walsh, who preached against him and the authority of His Holiness,* abandoned cloister life and cast off the habit, the Carmelites and Father Malone, Provincial of the Jesuits, declared for the truce with Inchiquin, and pronounced against the censures. These incidents assuredly must have pained the Nunzio severely; but the cup of his suffering overflowed in the month of February, when Ormond landed at Cork to resume the viceroyalty. Having conferred with Inchiquin, in the southern capital, Ormond arrived by slow stages at his noble Palace† of Carrick-on-Suir, where he was waited on by a deputation from the Kilkenny Assembly. Foremost among all those who had forgotten the respect due to the Holy See, and lent themselves to every artifice of sacrilegious violence, was John Tuam, who, always inconsistent, had solemnly promised the Nunzio that he would never consent to Ormond's restoration to power. On arriving in Kilkenny, Ormond got a magnificent reception, and having ascended a throne in the gallery of the ancestral castle, was asked by John Tuam and Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, in the name of all the rest, to resume the government of the kingdom, and redeem it from the state of misery into which it had fallen. Ormond benignly asserted and replied that he had resolved to live and die amongst them. He then declared the Confederation dissolved, and formed a new Council of some of the members of the former, among whom he named French, bishop

* *Contra il Nunzio e l'autorità di N. S.—Nunziatura, p. 376.*

† *Nobil Palazzo di Cariggia.—Nunziatura, p. 431.*

‡ *Ibid.*

of Ferns, recently came from Rome, with his colleague, Plunket, but on the express condition that he would sink his episcopal title,* and in future subscribe himself Nicholas. Walsh consented to this, and so did John Tuam, out of deference to Clanricard, whom, in the true spirit of clanship, he preferred to the Nunzio.† The conduct of the two archbishops‡ scandalized the Nunzio, who immediately published a manifesto which declared that he would quit the kingdom, as the Apostolic See never maintained its ministers in heretical courts. At same time he invited those who had incurred the censures—the authors of the Cessation with Inchiquin excepted—to wait on him and receive absolution. None of the principals appeared in person or by proxy, for they persuaded themselves that the Provincial of the Discalced Carmelites, whom they sent to Rome, would induce the Pope to pronounce the censures null and void. Dease, bishop of Meath, whose heart was hardened—"induratum est cor Thomæ"—Walsh, the disobedient Franciscan and sycophant of Ormond, the Discalced Carmelites, and some of the secular clergy—such of them as did not like a superior who insisted on strict observance of ecclesiastical discipline—ventilated this forecasting among the masses, and thought more of disparaging the Nunzio than of being reconciled to the Church. Multitudes, however, flocked to him, and for the benefit of those who could

* Lord Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was anticipated by Ormond.

† See Memoir of the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, in "Irish Hierarchy, Seventeenth Century."

‡ It has been inadvertently stated in these pages that seven bishops questioned the validity of the censures, whereas the number was eight.

not come, he left to four bishops ample power to absolve them. Meanwhile it was signified to him that Ormond was impatient for his departure, and that it behoved him to not tarry long in making the necessary preparations. Whatever chattels he left in Kilkenny were sold, by order of the Assembly, in the Market-place, and Ormond's creatures spared no effort to lower him in popular estimation. They strove too to seize the "S. Pietro"—the vessel that brought him to Ireland—but some trusty friends, foreseeing their mean intent, had the good ship brought to Duncannon, moored under the guns of that fortress, and so carefully guarded that no one was allowed to approach her. From thence she was worked round to Galway Bay, where he and his retinue embarked on the 23rd January, after having resided three years and four months, in a climate where he seldom saw the sun.* The Galwegians, he tells us, were sorely grieved at his leaving, and accompanied him in crowds to the sea side.† This, he remarks, was an ovation that contrasted strongly with that he received on his arrival, for then he was the bearer of considerable treasure, but on his departure a persecuted and beggared minister. After seven days' voyage, he landed on the coast of Normandy, where he learnt that France was

* *Dove mai non si vede il sole.*

† At twelve o'clock on the day of the Nunzio's embarking, French, bishop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket, reached Oranmore, where they were told by a Cappuccine that his Grace had sailed at eight o'clock that morning. They then went on a visit to Roger O'Shaughnessy at Gort. French's desertion to the Ormond party precipitated the departure of the Nunzio, whose auditor, at a subsequent period, reflected severely on the bishop's ingratitude and inconsistent behaviour.

seriously disturbed by the inception of the war of the Fronde. Having had interviews with the leading men of the period, Longueville, Condé, and Mazarine, he arrived in Rome about the middle of November, 1649, where he was graciously received by the Pontiff, who offered him a distinguished place in the Vatican as the reward of his embassy in Ireland. This he declined, and retired to Fermo, for which he always cherished enduring affection. On his arrival in the eternal city, he met Father Rowe, Provincial of the Discalced Carmelites, one of his bitterest and most unscrupulous calumniators, who was sent by the Ormondists to pray his Holiness to pronounce the censures invalid. Rowe, it appears, wrote to Irish Ecclesiastics in Ireland and France that the Appeal had been favourably received by Innocent X., but the secretary, Albizzi, emphatically contradicted this assertion in a letter to Massari, the Nunzio's auditor. "Rowe has not had audience of his Holiness, and the letters he has brought from the Supreme Council have been rejected. The Queries, which he states were received in Rome with great applause are a congeries of lies, and, far from having been presented, have not yet been turned into Latin and submitted to the Cardinals."* This surely is a contradiction of the assertion, that the Pope rebuked the Nunzio to his face for having acted recklessly in Ireland.

During the last few years of the Nunzio's earthly career, each post brought him tidings of the vicis-

* "*Temerarie te gessisti*," are the words which, according to O'Callaghan, the Pope uttered, but he has not told us why his Holiness spoke Latin to an Italian. O'Callaghan was a disappointed suitor for the bishopric of Cork, and wrote "*Vindiciæ Cathol. Hib.*," in which he vents his spleen on the Nunzio.

situdes of unhappy Ireland ; and among the many, none, we presume, could have been more distressful than the utter defeat of the last remnant of Owen Roe's army near Letterkenny in 1650. That disaster was caused by the incapacity, and rashness of the prelate-general, MacMahon, (Clogherensis), for whom he cherished warmest friendship, because he had been the right arm of Owen Roe, and strenuous supporter of his own policy. The story of that calamity is briefly told. MacMahon, despite the remonstrance of experienced officers, attacked Sir Charles Coote on ground where the Irish horse and foot found it almost impossible to manœuvre, and were beaten with loss of 4,000 killed, and all the commanders made prisoners, and carried to Londonderry. The prelate-general flying from the fatal scene, was arrested near Enniskillen, and there hanged like a vulgar felon by order of Coote. 'Twere easy to replace a bishop, but who could replace Henry, son of O'Neill*—the same who escorted the Nunzio to Kilcolgan,—O'Cahan, and many others, who, notwithstanding quarter given, were beheaded by the "tigrish doom of that inhuman blood-sucker Coote"†† The announcement of the capture of Limerick

* This tide of troubles and fates did overwhelm the family of the O'Neills, that the ebb of many years may not restore them to their former being. All this by the ill management of one man too much given to his own opinion.—Aph. Discov. Part III., p. 88.

† Among the escaped from the battle of Letterkenny, alias Scariffhollis, was Sir Phelim O'Neill, who acted there as lieutenant-general under the bishop. His name appears as one of the Appellants against the censures. He was arrested in Roughan Island by one of the Cawfeilds, tried in High Court of Justice before Judge Lowther, and executed in Dublin, Feb. 1653.—See Appendix.

reached him in 1651, when two remarkable men passed out of this life—Terence O'Brien, bishop of Emly, who was executed by order of Ireton on all Saints Eve, and the latter, who died a raging lunatic a few weeks afterwards. Galway surrendered in 1652, and Kirwan, bishop of Killala, and John, Archbishop of Tuam, were flung into prison, and subsequently transported to France. Such was the fate of two prelates, who distinguished themselves by their opposition to the Nunzio's censures, and were destined to survive him. Limerick was endeared to him by many recollections, and as for the capital of the West, he must have grieved over its capture, for there more than anywhere else, he experienced hospitality and protection, and lealty to the Holy See, that might be studied with advantage by those who were brought up in the light of the truth, or in other words, in the sun-bright land of Italy.

All the calamities we have barely glanced at were accredited to the Nunzio, for the Ormondists, Belling,* Walsh,† and such like, fabricated an in-

* Belling died in 1677, and was buried in Malahidirt. He was restored to his estate by Ormond, on the accession of Charles the Second. His account of the war in Ireland, Harris insolently says, "is the best written by *Popish* writers."

† Walsh was a native of Moortown, county Kildare, and took the habit in the Irish Franciscan Convent, at Louvain. He had a pension from Ormond in consideration of his "Remonstrance," in which he libelled the Nunzio, the Holy See, Primate Edmond O'Reilly, and every one who opposed his heterodox views. Towards the close of his career, he obtained absolution from the censures, and exhorted Lord Ormond to embrace the religion of his brothers and sisters. Ormond replied, "that he wondered, that after an acquaintance of forty years, so good a friend did not admonish him sooner." Walsh died in London, in 1687.

dictment that accused him of having reduced the island to the state of a wilderness, deprived the Catholics of their churches, nay, and caused a famine, the like of which no former age had witnessed. Malversation of money, favoritism, fomenting divisions between the Anglo-Irish, and the representatives of the ancient Celtic tribes, blind zeal, which made him disregard every political consideration, to the utter undoing of Ireland and Irish Catholics, were among the counts in this farrago of lies and calumnies which was compiled for presentation to Innocent X.

"Per intendere la soggezione dei fedeli al suo capo, bisognerà che i popoli nutriti nella luce del vero vadano a trovare un clima dove non si vede mai il sole."—Nunz. p. 433.

"Famis generalis, qualem nulla retro aetas in hoc regno pepererat."

Soon after his return to Fermo, news reached him of Cromwell's landing in Ireland, the storming of Drogheda with the particulars of the massacre there, and in Wexford, which was betrayed to the usurper by Stafford the governor, one of Ormond's servile creatures. Several Franciscans were hanged there after the capture, and it is noteworthy that they all were partizans of Walsh, and bitterly opposed to the Nunzio, and the censures. Such intelligence must have cost him pain, and if anything was wanting to intensify it it was the announcement of the death of Don Eugenio, who deceased in Clough-Outer Castle, 6th November, after he had agreed to co-operate with Ormond, to whom he sent 6,000 men, commanded by MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, and general O'Ferrall.* The

* Massari in Rinuccini Papers, fol. 1975, says that O'Neill's intellect was then weakened by illness and old age, and but for that he never would have been re-

capture of Cahir Castle and Kilkenny followed in rapid succession, and worst of all grim famine and pestilence made its appearance in the wake of the Cromwellian victories. As for Dublin, Ormond's attempt to recover it failed, for Jones routed him in August, 1649, and took, among other notable personages, Luke, Earl of Fingall, who, while in durance, died of grief for having opposed the Nunzio.* In 1650 news reached him of the gallant defence of Clonmel by Hugh O'Neill, Owen's Nephew, who repulsed the Cromwellians, and retired from the place, leaving them nothing but a breached and bloody wall.†

conciled to Ormond. "*Ad illam reconciliationem viam munivit Eugenii morbus quo paulatim ingravescente cum senecta, factum est ut non ipse sed a se alius evaserit quantum spectat ad maturandas belli expeditiones, quibus secus Ormonium et Ormonistas quassasset.*" O'Neill's apologist in *Aph. Discov.*, P. III., p. 53, asserts that he agreed to the treaty with Ormond after having stipulated that Sir N. Plunkett and Sir Richard Barnewall—the commissioners—should supplicate the Pontiff to free the kingdom from the censures, whether valid or not, and write to the Nunzio praying him to forget all offences, and be an intercessor for them unto his Holiness. The same authority hints that O'Neill was poisoned at a banquet given him by Sir C. Coote, in Derry; but his physicians treated him for gout, of which he died the day after he received the last sacraments. He was interred in St. Francis' Cavan. See his Epitaph in Appendix.

* A few days after Ormond's defeat, an officer of Inchiquin's rode into Athy, and meeting Father Bermingham, asked him did he hear that Dublin was taken. "I did, with bitter grief," replied the Dominican. "With grief!" said the officer, "you should rather rejoice, for by — had Ormond got the city, he would not have left one of your calling another year in all Ireland."—*Ap. Discov.* Part III., p. 46.

† His brilliant defence of Limerick against Ireton, is admirably described in M. Lenihan's *History* of that city.

The most mendacious of these accusations was that on landing he found a united Ireland and Catholicism flourishing in three of the provinces, and that he disrupted that union, and consequently inflicted innumerable woes on the ancient faith and those who clung to it. Union indeed! When did it exist, or when was there a solidarity of interests outside those of their common religion between the Anglo-Irish and the aborigines or Celts? Assuredly not in the times of Strongbow and Laurence O'Toole, nor in those when Paparo* and Vivian† came legates from the Vatican, nor in those at a much later period when Hugh O'Neill, although sustained by Rome and a Synod of Spanish theologians, was utterly defeated by his co-religionists, from within and without the pale. Surely at the very moment when the San Pietro, with all sail bent, was flying before the parliament frigate, bishops, priests and laity were actively discussing Ormond's Truce, some sanctioning, and more of them rejecting it, because it did not guarantee the free and open exercise of religion, except in private houses. Again, who will imagine that there was any real sympathy between Preston and O'Neill—the representatives of the two castes—when he calls to mind that the Nunzio had to exert all his influences to keep them from falling on each other when encamped before Dublin? Then, as for religion, the Nunzio's correspondence shows that the old prelates whom he first met were timid, dispirited, not desirous of pomps and processions, but satisfied if allowed to administer confirmation and other sacraments without vestments or mitre, and almost in laic

* A.D. 1152.

† 1176.

apparel. One of the most conspicuous among those was Dease of Meath, who repudiated all sympathy with the Confederates, and, as we have seen, proved himself an irreconcilable to the very end. Religion did *not* attain its full splendour until O'Neill won the field of Benburb, and that triumph was in great measure attributable to the Nunzio, and the supplies of arms and money he gave to the Catholic general. Union indeed! were he to come to us now would he not find divergence of opinion, bitter feuds, and rancorous divisions among Irishmen at a moment when the Parliament of England has expiated many of its cruelties and injustices to Ireland by an enactment calculated to benefit a class which more than any other has been pauperised and down-trodden by insatiable cupidity and extortion? An examination of all the charges brought against the Nunzio does not come within the scope of these pages, and the present writer may here repeat the words of the Dominican bishop, "Were I to attempt such an undertaking, time, voice, and endurance would fail me, for I would be obliged to devote a whole volume to it."* The vindication of the Nunzio must sooner or later come from the pen of the bishop of Ossory, the only man in Ireland competent to handle such a subject in all its most interesting circumstances and details. Here, however, we may fearlessly assert that if the Nunzio's policy had been adopted and carried out by the Confederates, who had within themselves all the resources of success Cromwell could not have triumphed, and Ireland must have been spared those ineffable sufferings which fell to her lot during the usurpation, and for

* "In immensum oratio discurreret, et dies, vox, viresque me omnia deficerent."—Hib. Dom. p. 908.

centuries afterwards, until a mighty tribune was sent by God to emancipate her.

And now, before taking leave of this subject, we may not omit mentioning, that the Nunzio caused the history of his embassy to be painted on the walls of the archiepiscopal palace, and that Cardinal Paracciani, his successor, setting little value on his memory, and realising the French proverb, "*nul ne veut ressembler à son prédécesseur*"—caused the frescoes to be effaced, a deplorable fact, for which he could hardly be pardoned by any Irishman, if we had not the splendid pen and ink pictures of the Nunzio's career in Ireland, entitled "*De Hæresis Anglicanæ in Iberniam Intrusione et Progressu, et de Bello Catholico ad annum 1641, cæpto, et per aliquot annos gesto*," which Aiazzi says came from the hand of some unnamed Irishman.

In 1653 the Nunzio died of apoplexy, to the great grief of the flock he had tended for thirty years, and of the poor, to whom he bequeathed all he possessed. His sweetness of manner, love and encouragement of learning, true Christian piety, and features through which shone a gentle and benevolent soul, were long remembered in Florence and Fermo, and reflected fresh lustre on a noble line of ancestors famed for the cultivation of literature and the arts. They buried him in his own Cathedral, and his brother Thomas had the subjoined epitaph sculptured on his tomb—

CHRISTO MORTUORUM PRIMOGENITO
 IOANNI BAPTISTÆ RINUCCINIO ARCHIEPISCOPO ET PRINCIPI
 FIRMANO
 AD FÆDERATOS CATHOLICOS HIBERNIÆ PONTIFICIA
 LEGATIONE FUNCTO
 VIRO SPIRITU APOSTOLICO AC PASTORALI VIGILANTIA
 PRÆFULGENTI
 QUI LUMBOS PRÆCINCTUS INNOCENTIÆ ET SCIENTIÆ
 ARDENTES LAMPADAS E MANIBUS NUNQUAM DEPOSUIT
 CUIUS DEXTERA ET APERTA ET CLAUSA FECIT VIRTUTEM
 MISERICORDIÆ PLENA AD PAUPERES SEMPER EXTENTA
 QUOS MORIENS DIXIT HÆREDES EX ASSE
 CONTRACTA CALAMO PLURIMOS ERUDIVIT
 CUIUS PEDES PACEM EVANGELIZANTIS MIRE SPECIOSI
 GREGEM IRREQUIETO LABORE CIRCUMIERUNT ATQUE
 ULTIMUM TERRÆ PERLUSTRAVERE
 ITA ECCLESIAE OMNIBUS EPISCOPIS FORMA VIRTUTUM FACTUS
 TOTIDEM QUOT ACCEPERAT SUPERLUCRATUS TALENTA IN
 DOMINI GAUDIUM
 UTI SPES EST INTRAVIT
 ID. DECEMB. A. S. MDCLIII AET. LX NONDUM EXPLETO
 THOMAS RINUCCINIUS CAMILLI SENAT. F. S. STEPH. EQUES
 SERENISSIMÆ VICTORIÆ MAGNÆ DUCIS ETRURIAE
 CUBICULO PRÆFECTUS
 FRATRI OPTIME MERITO MÆSTISSIM. POSUIT.



APPENDIX.

DECREES.—(Page 24.)

In the name of the holy Trinitie, the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Acts agreed upon, ordained, and concluded in generall congregation held at Kilkenny, the 10, 11, and 13 dayes of May, 1642, by those prelates whose names are subscribed; the proctors of such other prelates as then were absent, being present together with the superiours of the regulars, and many other dignitaries and learned men as well as divines, as also in the common law, with divers pastors and others of the Catholique clergie of all Ireland, whose names are likewise hereafter set downe.

1. Whereas the warre which now in Irelande, the Catholiques doe maintaine against sectaries and chiefly against Puritans, for the defence of the Catholique religion, for the maintenance of the prerogative and royall rights of our gracious King Charles, for our gracious Queene, so unworthily abused by the Puritans, for the honour, safetie, and health of their royall issue, for to avert and refraine the injuries done unto them, for the conservation of the just and lawfull safeguards, liberties, and rights of Ireland; and lastly, for the defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands, and possessions. Whereas I said this warre is by the Catholiques undertaken for the aforesaid causes against unlawfull usurpers, oppressors, and their enemies, chiefly Puritans. And that hereof we are informed as well by divers and true remonstrances of divers provinces, counties, and noblemen, as also by the unanimous consent and agreement of almost the whole kingdome in this warre and union, we therefore declare that warre openly Catholique to be lawfull and just, in which warre if some of the Catholiques be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousnesse, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any such un-

lawfull private intentions, we declare them therefore grievously to sinne, and therefore worthy to be punished and refrained with ecclesiasticall censures (if advised thereof) they doe not amend.

2. Whereas the adversaries do spread divers rumours, doe write divers letters, and under the king's name doe print proclamations, which are not the king's, by which means divers plots and dangers may ensue unto our nation; we, therefore, to stop the way of untruth and forgeries of the politicall adversaries, doe will and command that no such rumours, letters, or proclamations may have place or beliefe, untill it be knowne in a nationall councill whether they truly proceed from the king, left to his own freedome, and untill the agents of this kingdome, hereafter to be appointed by a national councill, have free passage to his majestie, whereby the kingdome may be certainly informed of his majestie's intention and will.

3. Whereas no family, citie, commonwealth, much lesse any kingdome may stand without concord, without which this kingdome for the present standeth in most danger, we think it, therefore, necessary that all Irish peers, magistrates, noblemen, cities, and provinces may be tyed together with the holy bond of union and concord, and that they may frame an oath of union and agreement which they shall devoutly and Christianly take, and faithfully observe. And for the conservation and exercise of this union, we have thought fit to ordain the ensuing points.

4. We straightly command all our inferiour, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no distinction at all between the old and ancient Irish, and no alienation, comparison, or differences between provinces, cities, townes, or families; and lastly, not to begin or forward any emulations or comparisons whatsoever.

5. That in every province of Ireland there be a councill made up both of clergy and nobility, in which councill shall be so many persons, at least as are counties in the provinces, and out of every city or notable towne two persons.

6. Let one generall councill of the whole kingdome be made, both of the clergy, nobility, cities, and notable townes, in which councill there shall be three out of every province, and out of every city one, or where cities are not, out of the chiefest townes. To this councill the provinciall councill shall have subordination, and from thence to it may be appealed, untill this nationall councill have oppor-

tunity to sit together ; againe, if any thing of great importance doe occurre, or be conceived, in one province, which by a negative vote is registered in the councell of one province, let it be sent to the councells of other provinces; except it be such a matter as cannot be delayed, and which doth not pertaine to the weale publick of the other provinces.

7. Embassage sent from one province to foreign nations shall be held as made from the rest of the provinces, and the fruit or benefit thereof shall be imparted and divided betweene the provinces and cities which have more need thereof, chiefly such helpes and fruits as proceed from the bountifull liberalitie of foreign princes, states, prelates, or others whatsoever, provided always that the charges and damage be proportionably recompensed.

8. If there be any province which may not conveniently send embassage from itselfe unto foreign nations, let it signifie it to another province, which may conveniently supply it, and ought in regard of their union to supply it according to the instructions sent from the other provinces concerning the place and princes to which they would have their embassage employed.

9. Let a faithfull inventory be made in every province of the murthers, burnings, and other cruelties, which are committed by the Puritan enemies, with a cotation of the place, day, cause, manner, and persons, and other circumstances subscribed by one of publick authority.

10. In every parish. let a faithful and sworne messenger be appointed, whereby such cruelties and other affairs may be written and sent to the neighbouring places, and likewise from one province to another. Let such things be written for the comfort, instruction, and carefulnesse of the people.

11. Great men taken prisoners in one province may not be set at liberty for any price, prayers, or exchange, without the consent of the prelates and nobility of the other province united; and let every province be carefull of all the liberties of such prisoners as are from the other provinces, as farre as it conveniently may.

12. If any stubborn or dangerous be found in one province, county, or towne, let him be sent to another province, county, or town, where he may be safely kept, and (with lesse danger or losse of others) remaine.

13. Whosoever shall be declared in one county or province adversary or traitour of this cause and country, shall

likewise be held, and punished in other counties and provinces, where he shall be found, and such as receive or favour him, or be his messengers knowing his misdemeanour shall be liable to such punishment as the traytour himselfe.

14. We command and ordaine as a maine point pertaining to this union, that no province, county, city, towne, or person whatsoever shall demand peace or submit himself to the enemies without the consent of the generall councell of the whole kingdome; and that under pain of excommunication to be incurred, ipso facto, and for further force of this statute to be observed: we will that in every province a firme oath be taken by the peeres, nobility, corporations, and commonality of every province, and thereupon a publick and authentick instrument be made; and that every province doe send into every other province, an instrument subscribed with the proper hands of such as have taken this oath, for the assurance of their oaths, and whosoever shall refuse to take this oath, let him be held as adversary of the common cause and of the kingdome, and let him be punished, as such as shall hereafter be declared, except he be excused for the reasons hereafter to be set downe.

15. The ordinaries of every place, the preachers, confessors, parish priests, and other churchmen, shall endeavour to see perfect peace and charity observed betweene provinces, counties, cities, and families, as the obligation of this union requireth.

16. Such goods, as well moveable as immoveable, pertaining to Catholics, as were recovered from the enemies by this present war, shall be restored to their former owners, provided that such necessary and reasonable charges shall be paid as the next generall or provinciall councell or committees of the county where the parties dwell shall decree.

17. Whereas diverse persons doe diversely carry themselves towards this cause, some with helpes and supplies doe assist the adversaries, others with victualls and armes, others with their advice and authority supporting as it were the contrary cause, some also as neuters behaving themselves, and others lastly neglecting their oath doe forsake the Catholique union and cause, we doe therefore declare and judge all and every such as forsake this union, doe fight for our enemies, accompany them in warr, defend or in any other way assist them in giving them weapons, victuals, councell, or favour, to be excommunicated, and by these

presents doe excommunicate them; provided that this present decree shall be first published in every diocese respectively, and having received admonition beforehand, which shall supply the treble admonition otherwise requisite, as we do hereby declare, so it be made in a place where it may easily come to the knowledge of those whom it toucheth, but as touching the judgement and punishment of the neuters we leave it to the ordinaries of every place respectively, so that the ordinaries themselves be not contrary to the judgment and opinions of this congregation, in which cause we commit power to the metropolitans or archbishops to proceed against such ordinaries according to the common course of law, wherein they are to be very carefull and speedy, and if the metropolitans be found herein carelesse or guilty, let them be liable to such punishments as is ordained by the holy canons, and let them be accused to the See Apostolique.

18. Wee ordaine and decree that all and every such as from the beginning of this present warre have invaded the possessions of goods as well moveable as unmoveable, spirituall or temporal, of any Catholique, whether Irish or English, or also of any Irish Protestant being not adversaries of this cause, and doe detaine any such goods, shall be excommunicated as by this present Decree wee doe excommunicate them, if admonished they doe not amend; and with the like censure wee doe bind such as henceforward invade or detaine such goods, and not only them, but also all and every such as shall keepe lands or possessions against publicke authority, as also such as favour or assist them therein. And wee declare involved in this censure all and every of them who directly or indirectly hinder or forbid to pay their due rents unto such as have possessed the said lands from the beginning of this warr, and such likewise as without the lycense of such possessors doe take or extort rents equivalent payment from the tenants of such possessors under colour of paying souldiers therewith or otherwise.

19. Wee command all and every Churchman, as well secular as regular, not to heare the Confessions of the aforesaid excommunicated persons, nor to administer unto them the holy Sacraments, under pain of excommunication ipso facto.

20. Wee will and declare all those that murther, dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, unlawfull spoylers, robbers of any goods, extortors, together with all such as

favour, receive, or any ways assist them, to be excommunicated, and so to remaine, untill they completely amend and satisfie no lesse than if they were, namely proclaimed, excommunicated, and for satisfaction of such crimes hitherto committed to be enjoined, wee leave to the discretion of the ordinaries and confessors how to absolve them.

21. Tradesmen for making weapons or powder brought into this country, or hereafter to be brought in, shall be free from all taxations and customes; as also merchants as shall transport into this country such wares as are profitable for the Catholique cause; as arms and powder, may lawfully traffique without paying any custome for commodities brought out of this kingdome, or transported hither of that kind, and let this be proclaimed in all provinces, cities, and towns.

22. Wee think it convenient that in the next naturall congregation some be appointed out of the nobility and clergy as ambassadors to be sent in the behalfe of the whole kingdome, unto the Kings of France and Spain, to the Emperour and his Holinesse, and those to be of the church prelates, or one of the nobility and a lawyer.

23. Wee will and ordaine that ordinaries, dignitaries, and others proprietors of church livings, with the assistance of the colonel, or some other prime gentleman of the county, barony, or parish, as the ordinarie, and dignitaries, or proprietors shall appoint, doe set unto tenants the lands, houses, tenements, and tithes, and other church livings, and let competent means be appointed for the maintenance of the said ordinaries, dignitaries, and proprietors, and the rest to be appointed for the souldiers untill it be otherwise ordained.

24. Collectors and receivers of the rents of church livings shall be appointed by the ordinaries, with the consent of the proprietors, in the presence of the chiefest gentlemen of every county, barony, or parish respectively.

25. The ordinaries and other proprietors of church livings may take unto themselves the houses, tenements, and other church goods pertaining unto their respective titles, with obligations to pay proportionable rent unto the souldiers as aforesaid, or his payment of their owne competent maintenance, and let the houses, tenements, and other church goods be taken from the Catholiques, who heretofore had them as tenements or otherwise.

26. It is committed to the will and disposition of the ordinarie whether and when to enter into the churches and

celebrate Masses therein, we commande all and every the generall colonella, captains, and other officers of our Catholique army to whom it appertaineth, that they severally punish all transgressors of our aforesaid command touching murtherers, maymers, strikers, thieves, robbers, and if they faile therein, we command the parish priests, curats, or chaplines respectively, to declare them interdicted, and that they shall be excommunicated if they cause not our satisfaction to bee made unto the commonwealth and the party offended. And this the parish priests, or chaplaines, shall observe under pain of excommunication of sentence given ipso facto.

27. To the end that these acts, propositions, and ordinances may have more happy success, we thought it fitting to have recourse unto God Almighty by prayers, fastings, and alms. Wee therefore will pray, and as far as it is needful doe, command, that every priest, as well secular as regular, doe celebrate one Masse a weeke, and that all laymen doe fast upon Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in one week and thenceforward one day a week, and that upon Wednesday or Saturday, as long as the ordinary shall please, and that they pray heartily unto God for the prosperous successe of this our Catholick warr, for which they shall gain so many dayes indulgences, as every prelate shall publish in your severall diocesse respectively, after the fast of the aforesaid three days in one weeke, having first confessed, and received the blessed Sacrament, and bestowed some almes to this effect.

28. In every regiment of souldiers, let there be appointed at least two confessors, and one preacher, to be named by the ordinaries and by the superiours of the regulars, whose competent mayntenance we command and commend to every colonell in their respective regiments. And to the end that all those ordinances and statutes may effectually be put in execution, wee will and decree that all archbishops, bishops, apostolicall vicars, and regular superiours, as well here present as absent, may be very serious and careful of the execution of the aforesaid, as they tender not to incur displeasure, wrath, and revenge, and herewith wee charge their consciences.

29. Moreover, we pray and require all noblemen, magistrates, and all other marshall commanders, that with their helpe and secular forces, they assist and set forward in execution, the aforesaid statutes in their severall precincts respectively, as often as it shall be needfull. If in any of

the aforesaid statutes any doubt or difficulty may by chance arise, the explication thereof we reserve to the metropolitans in every province respectively, and to the bishops in every their diocese such of them as are no way contrary to this cause, no other person may presume to expound the aforesaid difficulties.

Haec acta ordinata et statuta, subscripta erant nominibus erant nominibus sequentium praelatorum.

All those acts and covenants we submit to the judgement of the See Apostolick.

Hugo Archiep. Armach.
Thomas Archiep. Cassel.
Malach. Archiep. Tuam.
David Epis. Ossor.
Fr. Patricius Epis. Waterford et
Lysmor.
Fr. Rochus, Epis. Kildar.
Joan. Electus Cluanfert.
Emer. Elect. Dun. et Conor.
Fr. Joseph. Everard, Procurator
Archiep. Dublin.
Doctor Joan. Creagh, Procurator
Epis. Lymer.
Bourck et Willielmus O'Connell,
Proc. Epis. Imolacen.
Donat O'Tearnan, Proc. Epis. La-
onen.
Doctor Dionys. Hortsi, Dec. La-
onen.
Doctor Hacket, Vic.-Gen. Waterf.
Guliel. Devereux, Vic.-Gen. Fern.

Thom. Roch, Vic.-Gen. Ossoren.
Fr. Archer, Abbas S. Crucis.
Fr. Anthon. de Rosarts, Ord.
præd. Vic. pro-Provincial.
Rob. Nugent, S.J.
Fr. Thad. Connaldus, Aug. Prov.
Joan. Warenige, Decan. Lymer.
Fr. Patricius Darcy, Guardianum
Dublin.
Fr. Thom. Strange, Guardianum
Waterford.
Fr. Joseph Langton, Prior, Kil-
kenny.
Fr. Thos. Tearnon, Guard. de
Dundalk.
Fr. Joan. Reyly, Guard.
Fr. Boetius Eganus, Guard. But-
tevant.
Jordam. Boork, Archiedac. Lym-
ericensis.

BATTLE OF RATHCONNELL, *Feb.* 1642.—(Page 66.)

William Piers came to Ireland, 1566, and had grants of land of great value from Queen Elizabeth—the priory of Tristernagh, Co. Westmeath, &c., &c. His son, Harry Piers, who married Jane, daughter of Thomas Jones, Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, became a Catholic, and prevailed on some of his children to embrace same faith. Thomas, his third son, became a Franciscan, and Henry, his fourth son, left a son who was a secular priest. Mr. Piers died 1623, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir William Piers, who married a daughter of Sir James Ware, and was father of Sir Henry Piers of Tristernagh, author of the Chorograph Description, and who died in 1691.

“Rochonell is seated two miles east of Mullingar, in the way to Dublin, upon a pass, I believe, not above sixty yards in breadth of good channel ground. The neck of ground that here divides between two large and spacious moors, is not long before it opens and enlarges itself; not much above one hundred yards within it is a high rising ground, wherein is seated a castle, and some part of an old bawn wall, having a small round turret on one end, all which, one above another command this narrow pass. The moor on each hand this pass hath in all ages been esteemed impassable for horsemen, being of a low meadowish ground, interlarded in many parts with very deep sloughs or guts, where water sometimes falls, nevertheless they are traversable enough by light foot-men. These moors or low grounds are so widely extended, that without a mile or two's travel backwards and fetching a compass of much more ground, there is no passage on either hand for horse or cart. This place hath its name from an ancient leader of the Irish nation called O'Connell Carnagh, who here in some age of the world, by I know not whom was defeated, the memory of which action lives only in the name of the place, for Rochonell being interpreted, imports O'Connell's route or defeat. On this so advantageous piece of ground to oppose or dispute a passage, had no less a person than the great general Preston, with all the choice forces not only of Westmeath, but all he could for the time get together throughout all Leinster, seated himself; and to make sure work, he caused a trench to be made, and a redoubt or breast-work to be cast up, quite across the fore-mentioned neck of ground, where narrowest from moor to moor, wherein he posted his son colonel Inigo or Diego Preston, since lord of Tarah, who had lately arrived from service in Flanders, with three hundred choice men. Within them where the ground, as I said, enlarges itself, was the whole army drawn up in very good order, their several battalions of foot appeared flanked with their horse, the castle also above the walls was manned. Their whole army, as I have heard some say, consisted of seven thousand horse and foot, others have not owned so much; however the additional multitude of spectators who covered the adjoining ground, increased very much the reputation of their numbers. They flocked hither this day in hopes to see a certain old prophecy fulfilled in favour of themselves; which was, that a battle should be fought at Rochonell between the English and Irish, and that the side that

should win the battle, should also win Ireland. In this manner and posture did general Preston attend the arrival of the English.

"The English being but an handful in comparison, had now passed Mullingar, with their sick and tired men. When behold ! their scouts bring in the hasty news to Sir Richard Grenvill, who commanded the field, of a great formidable army drawn up at Rochonell to oppose his passage. Immediately Sir Richard draws up his forces, which were in their march, into a posture of fighting, for which he prepares. Being advanced within kenning of the enemy, he finds his scouts has truly informed, that col. Diego Preston, so advantageously posted, so well lined, must be attacked, must be beaten out of his breast-work, after that the whole army engaged and beaten too, or else no passage, and if no passage all must perish by the sword ; Sir Richard delays not, commands first one body of foot to advance to the breast-work and force the enemy thence. They advance up close and fire, but Preston appears resolute to keep his station ; he receives our shot and returns his ; these first failing in their attempt, another body is commanded up to relieve and second them, they also make their impressions, but to no purpose, Preston will not easily quit his post ; thus all the foot take their turns and all in vain ; at length the weak Athlone regiments, who in this day's march had the rear, are come up ; they must on also and try their fortunes ; but here it is well worthy the courage of Englishmen to see with what alacrity and cheerfulness those poor weak men address themselves to the fight, even the very sick men, who hitherto had lain groaning in their uneasy wag-gons and carts, now forsake their beds of sorrow, and forgetting that they had hitherto been sick, they spring out as cheerful as if they had not last night striven with the pangs of sorrow and death. In short they advance with as much courage as the strongest man there, and what is wanting in their strength is supplied in their hopes of being soon either victors or ending their painful lives, in a less lingering and more glorious death. The lord president's regiment attempt with pike and shot, as close as hand and foot could, and try if not by force of their own arms, yet by the terror of their ghastly countenance to frighten Preston out of his so well defended redoubt ; but in vain Don Diego, who had learned abroad what service was, was not more easy to be frightened than forced to quit his station ; he had by this time once or twice been relieved by fresh men

from their greater body, and appeared now as resolute as at the first onset ; however no respite was given him, and the repulsed parties still relieve one another by turns, Sir Richard being resolved to force his way, or here end his days. During this engagement, Sir Michael Earnly had been commanded to face their horse on the bog side, he opposed their right wing of horse commanded by captain Bryen, and plied* them with small shot. This gentleman was that day one of their best officers ; he had been a German soldier and came over in the English service, had been cornet unto Sir Thomas Lucas, but at that time was revolted, and took to the Irish side ; he had till now stood manfully all their shot, when at last receiving a shot in the thigh bone, he fell from his horse ; his fall so discouraged his followers, that they no longer stood their ground, but drew back under some covert from Sir Michael's shot. This gentleman's fall, and the retiring of his party that ensued, I look on to be the best step to that glorious victory that soon after followed ; hereby was opportunity ministered to that worthy person major Morice, major to the earl of Ormond, who commanded as major this day in the field ; he seeing what was done, and the ground being no longer incumbered by those horse, attempted to ride over one of these guts or sloughs in the moor, esteemed 'till now impassable for horse, but he found it otherwise, and retiring back again he was immediately advised by Sir Michael Earnly, to acquaint Sir Charles Coot, who that day commanded the horse that were in the field ; he readily advanced and passing with horse charged that wing that had already retired on the fall of their leader ; they stood not his charge, but fell back in disorder ; at which the whole field take the same course and fly ; young col. Preston that hitherto defended his post so manfully, thinks now as fit as hastily to quit it ; in a moment the whole ground is cleared of the enemy, having broken all orders and ranks, they flee on all hands, and the English pursue. Many officers took to the castle and yielded themselves prisoners of war. Eleven foot colours and one horse colours were taken ; col. Preston that had so gallantly maintained his station, was taken in the pursuit, having received a wound in the head. The new French arms, and the fine collars of bandoleers, are not taken up apace, the Irish soldiers discharging themselves of them as clogs ; for as the matter stands now with them, one

* See Aph. Discov.

pair of heels is worth two pair of hands. The slaughter of this day was not proportionable to the number, or eagerness of the contest, more by odds fell in the pursuit than in the action. On the English part fell very few; Sir Abraham Shipman was deeply wounded in the breast on the first onset, but recovered afterwards. The English continued the chase on all hands, and had the spoil of the field; but to them whose lot it was to follow the chase northerly soon appeared a semblance of new work; for by the time they had pursued as far as Lough Owell, not two miles, behold! our county of Longford neighbours appear as auxiliaries in a full body, who now make haste, hoping to put in for share in the glory of the action. I will not say that they might have appeared sooner, if they had pleased, as some in this country have reported; I am sure they came too soon for themselves, for finding that they had now a victorious enemy to encounter with, they retire in the same disorder they found their neighbours in, and about the verges of this lake met their fate they made so great haste to overtake, such only outliving the dishonour as had the good fortune to betake themselves timely to their heels. It fared better with the county of Cavan gentlemen, who also were making all speed imaginable on the same errand, for meeting at good distance by those that fled ere they could reach the bridge of Ballinelack, with the tidings of the defeat, they fairly retire without as much as seeing an enemy, and march home in as good order as they came forth, thinking it no matter of prudence to provoke a victorious enemy. This was indeed a signal day, a day of deliverance; for if all circumstances be considered, there was but little ground for the English to have hoped to escape, but that God, not themselves, ordered ways beyond hopes for their preservation. The number of the slain in this action from first to last is uncertain, many more escaped by flight than fell. The victorious English reunite under their colours, and march safe to Dublin, sending before them the joyful news of this good day by captain Vaughan, who, as well for his good service, as news, was knighted."—*Description of Co. Westmeath, written 1682, and published by Luke White, Dublin, 1786.*

BATTLE OF NEW ROSS.—(Page 68.)

A faithful account of what was done by the Right Hon. James, Lord Marquis of Ormonde, and the armie under his command, when God gave to his lordship that famous victorie near the towne of Rosse, in the Countie of Wexforde, on March 18th, 1642. Being observed by Ged Creighton, Chaplaine to his Lordship's Regiment.

"On Friday morning the armie removed from Rosse back the same way they came, and passed by old Rosse, half a mile to a heather hill. Upon their left hand appeared some of the enemy's horse, but seeing some of the armie offer to meet them, they did soon retreat. This might be lord Mountgarret, for his regiment lodged on the heather hill before mentioned. The next morning (being the 18th day of March) Mr. Brian Kavanagh came to the Lord Marquis, and told him that whereas his Lordship had found many difficult passages for ordnance in the way he came, he could guide the armie a better and a shorter way. This advice was accepted, and being gone a little from whence the armie had lodged, they returned by the same place where they had seen the enemy's horse the night before; and now they saw the enemy beginning to gather their army together from level places upon the mountain side, which was on the armie's right hand, and so near that the armie could see by their often flowing of powder to light their matches, that they intended to fight. Thus they passed an evil causey and some bad fordes, and were about two miles from either Rosse, The Lord Marquis commanded all to make readie, and turned out of the way to the left hand to meet the enemy, being north from them, the wind being out of the S.W., which sometimes blew very hard, with frequent showers of rain and snow. At the foot of the mountain there is a little forde between two bogges. A little above the forde, and nearer to the enemy's army, was a little towne called Ballinafeiga. This was on the left hand as they came to the battell. From that towne a broad lane, ditched on both sides, comes up a long hill, and thence hath a sudden steep descent into a bottom. Betweene this towne and the hill there is a ditch on either hand, and about more than pistoll shott, the ground riseth again. On the brow of this rising ground the Lord Marquis appointed the six pieces of ordnance to be planted—

two culverins and two pieces right against the lane, and a little from them a field piece on either hand, under which rising ground, where the ordnance was planted, the Lord Marquis' armie stood in good order, much from E. to W. The Lord Marquis' regiment on the right hand, and over the heads of the armie the ordnance was discharged full in the face of the enemy. The horse were placed on either hand of the foot. First, the Lord Marquis' forlorn hope of horse began the fight. Being not above thirty-two, or thereabouts, led by a gallant gentleman, captain Morrow. They encountred with at least six score. They came within a pike's length before they gave fire, being in sight of the whole armie, and, having discharged, they retired softlie and in good order, notwithstanding the ground was full of great stones and tuffles of heath and furze. The enemy stood still, as if they had enough of that entertainment. The enemy's great horse came down the aforementioned lane, filling it from ditch to ditch, and being very throng and thrust together thick at the foot of the lane, the enemy's forlorn of horse, with manie more troopers, made their approach, uppon whom the Lord Marquis' forlorn with dragoons and firelocks, began the battell. The foot, as the enemy came near them, gave fire on them plentifully. The bottom, where the foot on both sides were in fight, were so low that they that stood by the waggons could see neither side, yet could perceive that the Lord Marquis' foot gave far more plentifully and in greater and quicker volleys than did the rebell's foot. On the right hand of the enemy's horse there stood a body of pikes to the number of 11,000 choice men, waiting when the English armie should be routed that they might run uppon them and do execution. Thus the fight continued, until the ordnance was discharged six times every piece, and at no time missed of hitting the mark—for they that stood by the waggons did see where the shott fell. Among our armie were eleven seamen, taken from the shippes by God's providence, to assist their friends, and all good gunners, and bestirred themselves like men. After that the Lord Marquis' horse had discharged on the rebels here, the word was that they should wheel about, which they did in good order, when suddenlie some of the enemy's horse fell in among the English horse, and fell to work with their swords—cut Sir Thomas Lucas on the head, and struck him from his horse; as likewise Alexander Burrowes, the marshall. The Lord Marquis being verrie near, and

not knowing that these were rebels that were gotten in among the English troopes called to the rebels—"Why strike you him; he is one of our men"—and it was good for us that these rebels did not know that the Lord Marquis was so near them, for of all men they desired to destroy his life, who, by God's providence, was then preserved to be God's instrument to save the whole armie—for upon the breaking-in of the rebels upon the English troops on the right hand, the Lord Lysle and Richard G—— ran away from the battell, and carried away all the horse on that side of the armie, together with the Lord Marquis' Life Guards, and up they came to the waggons. There the Lord Lysle cried out, "Ten pounds for a guide to Duncannon—twenty pounds for a guide to Duncannon." Mr. Zacharie Silyard, the apothecarie for the armie, came and called on them, and cried bitterlie, "fie, my lord; what cause have you to run from the battell—what safetie can you find in running from the armie, which you see stand to their armes with courage," and indeed, so they did; for, on seeing the Lord Marquis and chief officers standing in their place, they continued the fight, but if the Lord Marquis had moved it would have discouraged them, and, no doubt, ruin would have fallen on all the armie; and, if not ruin, yet verie great trouble on the whole kingdome. After that the old apothecarie had said his displeasure, major Morris having received some wounds, and was then in his horse litter, came forth, and cried "shame" on them for running away; "and, my lord, (said he) if you will not lead back the troopes, lend me one of your horses and I will lead them back." Then, Sir R. G. clapped my Lord Lysle on the shoulder: "Come, my lord, (said he) we will yet recover it." "Never, while you live (said Mr. Silyard)—I mean his credit." No sooner were the troopes returned to the battell but the rebell army broke all to pieces. Now why these cowards ran away from battell, some desire one excuse, some another. I conceive they had no excuse, only took occasion of these troupers breaking in among the English horse; for we received intelligence that some eight score that would seem more valliant and zealous than all the rest, had bound themselves with a curse that when the English and they should join in battell they would neither fly nor be taken, but either destroy the English or die in the field. Of these eight score there could be no account be had but of eight alone that had the courage to breake in with the English.

Their marks were straw ropes about their hats and about their middles. Their word was "Jesus Maria." They were discovered by throwing away their ropes. Of them six were killed, one Nugent was taken, and Fitzgerald of Balsennan quit his horse and made a shift to go to New Rosse. All being troubled at the running of the horse, no one followed him. Here a man may observe the varieties of accidents that will fall out in a battell. Before the troopes ran away the Irishe army began to break and run. Uppon the running away of the troopes they began to gether to their army, but so soon as the troopes did return, they break all to pieces, and a man might see them through the smoke of the gunpowder run twinkling like the motes in the sunbeam, and indeed they were a numerous army. I believe they were at least 3, if not 4,000 horse, and 10 or 12,000 foot, who made haste to outrun the horse. When they who stood by the waggons came to go up the lane where the Irishe horse stood, they did see what terrible work the ordnance had made—what Godlie men and horses lay there all torn, and their gutts lying on the ground, armes cast away and strewed over the fields. Now for what men were lost on our side, besides Alexander Burrowes the Marshall, and one trooper, that one of these eight stout blades shott in the back hard by the waggons, and the wounding of Sir Thomas Lucas and Mr. Gleggie, there were none more to be found hurt or killed. Of the enemy great store lay here and there, manie ran away with their death wounds and fell by the way. The Lord Marquis' horse, and some foot, followed the enemy over the ford, and the horse brought back some six colours and some gun-powder. They took but four carriages, or other spoil they found none—for the rebels leaving the cuntries their friends needed no carriages, and wanted no kind of necessities. When the field was cleared of the enemy and the armie to their quarters, Sir Thomas Wharton, Lieutenant Colonel of the Lord Marquis' regiment, called his Chaplain to give thanks, and it being the custom to call them together. With a psalm the Chaplain began with the four score and seventeenth psalm from the 7th verse to the end, which did meet that great deliverance and in glorie as if it had been penned for the purpose. At Dublin, upon the notice of this victorie, were bone-fires made and bells rung. The Lord Marquis lodged in the midst of the slaine until the tent was sett upp for the Lieutenant Colonel. The Chaplaine went into Captaine Floure's tent where he saw

a gentleman a stranger. "This is a prisoner (said Captaine Floure) whom we have taken this day." The Chaplaine answered, "I wish we had 500 of the best of the rebells in this condition he is in." "He hath confessed (said Captaine Floure) they resolved to kill us all and take no prisoners." "It is so," (said the prisoner). "And yet" (said the Chaplaine) "you see your life is spared with us." "I must confess (said he) you are more merciful than we." And such was the bloodie resolve of the rebells to kill all the English of the armie, and then to march to Dublin and destroy all that were there. The next night after the battell the armie quartered over against Gregnammagh, and an English drummer broke away from the Irish, swam the river, and came to the armie, who hearing the fore-mentioned prisoner's name was Lieut. Colonel Butler was in the English armie, he did leap for joy, and said that he was so zealous for destroying the English that he went through the Irish armie and charged them to take no prisoners, and seeing the English drummer, "Art thou not (said he) an Englishman?" "I am," (said the drummer.) "After we have gotten this victorie (said Lieutenant Colonel Butler) I will not leave the smell of one English dog in Ireland." Besides this Lieut. Colonel Butler Cullen the Lieutenant General of the rebell army was taken. He at the first forming of the two armies came on to the ordnance, and laid his hand on one of the guns, and said "this is mine," but he was not his own for the space of a quarter of an hour, being presentlie taken and made a prisoner. In the rebell army of persons of qualitie were killed a brave gentleman of the Butlers, nearly related to the Lord Marquis, Sir Morgan Kavanagh, and Mr. Beaverlie Brittiolle, an Englishman. It was reported in the armie that Lieutenant General Cullen being brought before the Lord Marquis, did blame Preston for fighting at that time, saying it was his counsell to suffer the English to lay at Rosse untill their ammunitiion and victuals were spent, their men weak seeing they had marched long, and the ordnance could not be every where to defend them—to assault them at some straight passage, and cut them off. But God, who did defeat the counsell of imps of hell, did also defeat this Preston, and the Irish were so persuaded of their own strength and of our weakness, that they would needs put it to the hazard of a battell, and were defeated."

LAWES AND ORDERS OF WARRE, M.DC.XLIII.

ESTABLISHED FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE ARMIE DESIGNED
FOR THE EXPEDITION OF ULSTER.

(Page 102.)

*Printed at Waterford by Thomas Bourke, Printer to the
Confederate Catholics of Ireland, 1643.*

BY THE GENERALL:

James Earle of Castlehaven and Lord Audley, Generall of the army for the Ulster expedition, to the Lieutenant-generall, Sergeant-major-generall, the Colonells, Lieutenant-colonells, Sergeant-majors, Captaines, and all other officers and souldiers of horse and foote in the army, and to all the Confederate Catholics and others whom these lawes and orders ensuing shall concerne, which lawes and orders hereby published under my hand, I require all the said persons respectively and severally in this army, or quarters of the Confederate Catholickes of this kingdome, to observe and keepe, on the paines and penalties, as by these presents are expressed.

Prayers to
be fre-
quented.

First, I doe straitly charge and command all commanders and officers of the army, to see that Almighty God be duely and reverently served, by often frequenting the sacraments and daily hearing of Masse. And those that often and wilfully neglect this great good be duely punished.

Blasphemy.

2. Let no man speake impiously and maliciously against the holy and blessed Trinity, or any of the Three Persons, God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the Holy Ghost, or against the known articles of the Catholicke Faith, upon paine of death.

Heresie.

Profanation.

3. No man shall take God's holy name in vain, or use unlawfull oaths or execrations, or commit any scandalous act, to the derogation of God's honour, upon paine of the losse of his pay, imprisonment, and such further punishment as

a marshall-court shall think his offence deserves.

4. No man shall use any trayterous words against his maiesties sacred person or royall authority, upon paine of death. Trayterous words.

5. No man shall speake, or practise anything to the dishonour or destruction of the Supreme Councill of the Confederate Catholickes of Ireland, on paine of death. Disobedience to commanders.

6. No man shall offer any violence against, or contemptuously disobey his commander, or doe any act, or speak any words which are like to breed any mutiny in the army or garrison, or impeach the generall, lieutenant-generall, or principall officer's directions, on paine of death. Disobedience to commanders.
Mutiny.

7. No man shall wilfully, or through gross ignorance, fayle in coming to the rendezvous or garrison assigned to him by the generall or other principal officer that commands the army, upon paine of death. Not repairing to the rendezvous.

8. No captaine, officer, or souldier of troope or company, on their march thro' any country within our quarters, or which shall be in peace or cessation with us going to any garrison or place of service, shall upon any pretence of want whatsoever commit any waste, spoyle, or violence, or extort any victuals, money, or pawne in lieu of victuals, from any good subject whatsoever, but shall content themselves with meat and drinke competent, paying the usual and accustomed rates for the same, upon paine of death. But if in time of open action, by occasion of any march through the country the souldier shall be in want, then the officer shall seeke and provide such diet and lodging for them as shall be thought fit, at reasonable rates heretofore accustomed, for the which the captaine or officer shall give ready money, or for want thereof deliver his ticket to be satisfiéd upon his entertainment. Extortion, etc., upon a march.

9. No man that carries armes, or pretends to be a souldier, shall remayne three dayes in the army after it is on foote, except he be inrolled in some company, on paine of death. Persons not inrolled in the army.

10. No man shall fayle immediately to repayre unto his colours (except upon evident neces- Not repairing to the colours.

sity), when an alarme is given, upon paine of death.

Holding intelligence with, or relieving the enemy.

11. No officer or souldier whatsoever shall have conference or intelligence with an enemy or rebell that is in open action against his maiesty, or the Confederate Catholickes, or harbour or receive any such within the campe, or in any towne, fort, castle, or garrison, or shall send, or procure to be sent any victuall, ammunition, or other reliefe to an enemy or rebell in action. Neyther shall doe any other thing to the danger or prejudice of the armie, or being acquainted therewith, shall conceale the same from the chiefe officer, upon paine of death. Onely such as shall be avowed and warranted thereunto by me or those that command the army in my absence, may speake, confer, have intelligence, or converse with the enemy or rebell, for the advantage of his maiestie's service.

Revolting to the enemy.

12. No man shall runne to the enemy or rebell that is in action, or depart the army, from the garrison or colours, without licence, upon paine of death.

Departing from captain.
Entering or going out of the camp by unusual wayes.
Watchword.

13. No souldier shall depart from his captaine without licence, though he serve still in the army, upon paine of death.

14. No man shall enter or goe out of the army or garrison, but by ordinary ways, upon paine of death.

15. No man shall make knowne the watchword to the enemy or any other, but by order, nor give any word other than is given by the officer, on paine of death.

Sentinell and Watch.

16. No man being set sentinell by his officer, shall sleepe, depart, or forsake his place without being relieved or drawne off by the officer that placed him. Nor any other person, being placed upon his watch, shall neglect his duty commanded by his officer, upon paine of death.

Drawing sword after the Watch set.
False alarm or noise in the night.

17. No man shall presume to draw his sword without order after the watch is set, upon paine of death.

18. No man shall give a false alarm, or discharge a piece in the night, or make any noise, without lawful cause, upon paine of death.

19. No man shall commit any murther, or kill any person, or draw blood of any, or draw sword in private quarrell, with intent to offer violence within the camp or garrison, upon paine of death.

Murther, or private quarrel.

20. No corporal, or other officer commanding the watch shall wittingly suffer a souldier to go forth to private fight, upon paine of death.

Officers of the Watch suffering duells.

21. No person shall rehearse seditious words in the presence of private souldiers without order, upon paine of death.

Seditious words.

22. No person shall make any unlawful assembly, or be present or assisting thereunto, upon paine of death.

Unlawful assembly

23. No man shall demand money with an unlawful assembly, or by other way, tending to mutiny, more especially upon marching towards an enemy, or upon the execution of any enterprize, on paine of death.

Mutinous demand of pay.

24. No man shall outrage or doe any violence to any that come to bring victuals to the army or garrison, upon paine of death.

Abuse to bringers-in of victuall.

25. No provider, keeper, or officer of the Confederate Catholickes victuall or ammunition shall wilfully corrupt or embeazell any part thereof, or give any false account to the generall, with a purpose to deceive the Confederate Catholickes, or to hinder the service, upon pain of death.

Deceit in victuall or ammunition

26. No souldier in musters shall answer for another, or take two payes, or muster in a false name, to defraude his majesty, upon pain of death.

False muster.

27. No person shall sell, spoyle, or carry away any ammunition, upon pain of death.

Spoyle or sale of ammunition.

28. No souldier shall sell, or lay to pawne, his horse or hackney, or any part of his furniture, arms, or apparel, for any respect, or pretence, of want whatsoever, upon pain of death.

Selling or pawning of arms.

29. No man shall steal, or take by force, any treasure, victuall, or ammunition of his maiestie's, or take by force, or steale from any person any money, arms, apparell, or other goods, being above the value of xij. *d.* in marching, camp, or garrison, upon pain of death.

Robbery or Stealth.

Betraying castles, forts, etc.

Flying from
colours, etc.

30. No man shall deliver any towne, castle, fort, or sconce, without warrant, or depart from any strait or passage which he is commanded to make good, or take passport of the enemy or any rebell in action, or make any ignominious composition with the enemy or rebell in action, upon pain of death.

31. No man shall throw away his arms, or abandon his ensign, cornet, or guidon, or fly away in any battell or skirmish, upon pain of death.

Departing a
mile from
the army.
Breach of or-
der in chase,
etc.

32. No man shall depart a mile out of the army or camp without licence, upon pain of death.

33. No souldier shall breake his order to follow, rout, or chase, or to seek any prey or spoyle except he be commanded by such as have authority, or further when he is so commanded, upon pain of death.

Purloyning
of prey or
spoyle.

34. No officer or souldier, whensoever any prey or spoyle shall be taken from the enemy, either when the army is in the field or by any residing in the garrison, shall attempt to embezzle or purloyn any part thereof, but shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their powers to keepe the same together to be disposed of at the direction of me the generall, or any other by me thereunto authorized, upon pain of death.

Ransoming
of prisoners.

35. No captaine, officer, or souldier, or any other that shall take any prisoner, shall presume to deliver him upon any ransome, or conceale him, but within four and twenty houres he shall make the same knowne unto me, or other chiefe commander, and deliver the same prisoner under the charge of the provost-marshal, upon pain of death.

Rape.

36. No man shall ravish or force any woman, upon pain of death.

Burning of
houses,
corne, etc.

37. No souldier shall burne any house or lodging, or burne or wilfully spoyle any corne, ship, or boate, or carriage, or any other thing that may serve for the provision of the army, or his garrison, without he be commanded so to do by me, or some principall officer of the army, upon pain of death.

38. No man shall resist or offend any provost-marshall, or other officer in the execution of his office, by rescuing offenders, upon pain of death.

Resisting provost-marshalls or other officers.

39. No man that is committed shall break prison upon pain of death.

Breaking of prison. Adultery.

40. No man shall commit adultery or fornication, upon pain of imprisonment, banishment from the army, or such other penalty as by the marshall's court it shall be thought meete.

41. No man shall beate, threaten, or dishonestly touch any man, woman, or child, upon pain of punishment, according to the qualitie of the offence.

Violence.

42. No souldier serving on foot shall carry any boy, nor any woman shall be suffered to follow the army, upon pain of such punishment as shall be inflicted by me the lieutenant-generall, or other officer.

Boyes or women.

43. Every souldier or officer that shall be found drunk, shall be committed to prison for the first offence, and if he fall into it the second time, being a private soldier, he shall, besides his imprisonment, forfeyte two months' pay. If he be an officer, he shall lose his place. The third time a common souldier shall have such greater punishment as a marshall-court shall order.

Drunkenesse.

44. No man shall give any disgraceful words or commit any act to the disgrace of any person in the army, garrison, or any part thereof, upon pain of imprisonment, publike disarming, and banishment from the army, as men for ever disabled to carry any arms. And as I do forbid all men under my command to renew any old quarrels or to begin any new, so I do acquite and discharge all men that have quarrels offered or challenges made to them of all disgrace or opinion of any disadvantage, since they do but the duties of souldiers, which ought to subject themselves to marshall discipline. And they that provoke them shall be proceeded withall as breakers of all good discipline and enemies to the good success of the service.

Affronts and challenges.

45. No captain shall, through corruption, or wilful or gross negligence, suffer his company to grow weake, upon pain of imprisonment, loss of

Weake companies.

his place, and ignominious banishment from the army.

Deceit in
muster.

46. No captain, lieutenant, or other officer of the army shall in the tender presentment of their musters use any fraud, practise, or deceit, whereby the muster-master, his deputies, or the commissaries may be misled, mistaken, or prevented of the due understanding of the true estate of that company, upon pain of loss of his place, and such other ignominious punishment as by a marshal's court shall be thought meete.

Unequal
cheques.

47. No muster-master shall either for favour, friendship, or other by-respect whatsoever, impose a less or greater checke upon any captaine or officer than his default shall justly merit, or any checke at all where no defect or default shall appeare, upon due view taken of the company, and that none shall be imposed by discretion, without view, upon pain that every offender who shall be found to transgress in all or any part of this article, shall forfeite his place which he holdeth, and be further subject to such corporal or pecuniary punishment as by the discretion of a marshall-court shall be thought convenient.

Cheque
without
view.

Defects cer-
tified, not
supplied.

48. Every captain shall have a list of all the defaults in apparel, arms, or trayning, certified by the muster-master or the commissaries authorized for musters sent unto him, attested under their hands, whereupon the said captain shall presently take order that the same be fully supplied before the muster then next ensuing such notice given him thereof, and every captaine failing in his duty therein shall for the first neglect have one month's pay defalked out of his enter-taynement. And if he continue the said neglect without amending and supplying the same, he shall be discharged of his place and command.

Neglect in
trayning.

49. All captains shall be diligent in trayning their companies, and shall be carefull in governing them well, and in providing for them according to the orders published for the musters; and also shall see in all services that they doe the duties of souldiers, as they will hope for

favour or advancement, or escape ignominious discharge from their charges.

50. No souldier shall appeare with his armes unfixt or undecently kept, upon pain of punishment, according to the officer's good discretion. Armes unfixt.

51. No souldier shall come not fully armed to his colours, being to watch, or to be exercised, upon pain of being punished according to discretion. Defect of armes.

52. No captain or officer shall, without expressed licence in that behalf signified, remayne or abide forth of his place assigned unto him by me for his garrison, upon pain of death. Non-residence in garrison.

53. All captains or other officers that for the time shall have command of troope or company, shall see them orderly quartered, as they are appointed and as they are commanded upon pain of the loss of their places. Orderly quarters.

54. Every private man and souldier, upon pain of imprisonment, shall keep silence when the army is to take lodging, or when it is marching, so as the officers may be heard, and their commandments executed. Silence.

55. No man shall spoyle or take the goods of any that dieth or is killed in the service, upon pain of restoring double the value; but the goods of such as die in the army or garrison, if they make any will by word or writing, shall be disposed of according to their will. If they make no will, shall be distributed to the hurt, sick, and poor of the company where the souldier was, or shall go to the hospital of the army. Goods of the dead.

56. No inhabitant in towne or country shall presume to buy or take to pawn any horse or hackney of any souldier, or any part of his furniture, arms, or apparell, of any respect or pretence whatsoever, upon pain of forfeiting the double value thereof, and to suffer imprisonment untill he shall restore the goods so unduly bought or taken to pawn. Buying or taking to pawne of arms.

57. If any horseman shall lose his horse or hackney, or footman any part of his arms, by negligence or lewdnesse, whereby he shall be unable to discharge the duty of his place, then untill he shall recover the same or furnish him- Losing of armes by negligence.

self with as good, he shall remayne in the state and condition of a pioneer, or sustaine further punishment at my discretion, or other officer, thereunto authorized.

Unwholesome victualls.

58. No victualler shall presume to issue or sell to any of the army unsound, unsavoury, or unwholesome victualls, upon pain of imprisonment and such other punishment as by a marshall-court shall be thought fit to be imposed on him or them that shall so offend.

Unseasonable hours at victualling houses.

59. No victualler shall entertayne souldiers at unseasonable hours, upon pain of being severely punished.

Souldiers not to be victuallers.

60. No souldier shall be a victualler without the consent of the chief of the army, on pain of punishment according to discretion.

Captains not to give passport.

61. No captain shall give passport to any officer or souldier under his command, without my leave.

Cashiering of souldiers.

62. No captain or other officer of the army shall discharge or cashier any souldier entered in his majestie's list of this his army, without my privy and allowance, and my special warrant in that behalf, unless it be by the privitie and allowance of the officers of the musters, upon the publicke days of muster.

Entertaining runaways.

63. No inhabitant of city, town, or country shall presume to receive any souldier into their service not having a sufficient authority; neither shall any conceale or hide any such runaway, or use meanes to convey them out of the kingdom, or any other secret place, but shall apprehend all such and deliver them over to the provost-marshal, upon pain of imprisonment, as shall be thought fit by the chief commander to be inflicted.

Detecting, etc., of offenders.

64. All capitaines, officers, and souldiers shall doe their endeavours to detect, apprehend, and bring to punishment all offenders, and shall assist the officers of the army for that purpose, as they will answer their slackness and be censured in the marshal's court.

Faults in generall provided against.

65. All other faults, disorders, and offences that are not mentioned in these articles, shall be punished according to the general customes and

laws of war; and therefore it is by me commanded, that all men look to their charge, and he that hath no charge to look to his own carriage, as he will answer the contrary.

66. Finally, the lieutenant-generall of the army, sergeant-major, or generall, the colonells, captaines, and all other officers of the Confederate Catholickes within this kingdome, whom it may concern, are hereby required to observe these lawes, and to see them put in due execution from time to time. These lawes and orders I require every captaine in the army to cause to be read in the head of their severall companies forthwith, and the chiefe officer of every regiment are required to see to the careful performance and observation, as well of this direction as of all the said lawes and orders.

CASTLEHAVEN AUDLY.

BATTLE OF DUNGANS HILL.—(Page 220.)

An exact and full Relation of the great Victory obtained over the Rebels at Dungans Hill, August 8, 1647, by the Forces under the command of Colonel Michael Jones, with a list of all that were slain and taken prisoners.

**TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COMMITTEE AT
DERBY HOUSE.**

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I have herewithal given your Lordships an account of passages in our late advancing against the rebels; the observations therein given, drawn up by others, have been perused and approved for true by such as were upon the place and action. It is much from my disposition to take notice, much less thus to publish matters of this kinde, wherein I am so concerned. But at this time I have been thereunto enforced, in the overforwardness of some who have taken upon them to give out relations of this service, not only short, but far from truth, and of so much disadvantage to the publike. This victory had been well leading to a perfect conquest of this kingdom, were we thereunto enabled by supplies of men, moneys, and other provisions necessary for the service. In the very noise of what is now done, I might, (by God's assistance), have advanced far into the enemy's chiefest strengths, and well nigh at once shut up what of this work were to be done in this province, had I been furnished with carriages, provisions, and pay for the soldiers, for want of which I have been enforced to march home, whereby time and means may be given to the enemy for recruiting, to our further disadvantage, for we had not provisions of victuals in the field for one day, and money there was not here for one week's pay. That of greatest value seized on, was the trains of artillery, and particularly sixty-four oxen, worth £16 the yoke. These were the soldiers' due, who possessed themselves of them; yet I have gathered them in from several hands for the publike service, promising recompense out of the publike treasure, which I desire may there be thought upon, and satisfaction therein given. Our loss was not in men (not twenty being found missing), but in horse, many whereof were killed, and rendered unser-

viceable ; the riders are cast off from present service, and if not again mounted, which I desire may be there thought of, for the speedy and vigorous prosecution of the war, which is to be done principally by horse and dragoons, the foot not being able to march in winter.

I am,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,
MICHAEL JONES.

A Diary and Relation of passages in and about Dublin, from the first of August, 1647, until the tenth of the same.

August I.

For relieving of Trim, a considerable garison of ours, 20 miles distant from Dublin, besieged by col. Preston, the rebels general of Leynster, with his whole strength, col. Michael Jones, commander-in-chief of the Leynster forces marched from Dublin, Aug. 1, 1647, with about 3,800 foot and two regiments of horse, two demi-culverins, one saker, and four sakerets. That night the army quartered at a village called Swords, six miles from Dublin, being something out of the road to Trim, but leading towards the rendezvous appointed for meeting with the Drogheda and Dundalk forces, joyned with a party of horse and foot expected out of the north of Ireland.

Aug. II.

Monday, the 2.—They marched to Ballrourthery, six miles from Swords.

Aug. III.

Tuesday, the 3.—They marched over the Hills of Hollywood, a mountainous country, to a place called the Naal, and that night to Garishtown, where Col. Jones received intelligence of the advancing of the expected supplies.

Aug. IV.

Wednesday, the 4.—The army marched to the Hill of Skreen, where they met with Sir Henry Titchborn, with the Drogheda forces; Col. Moor, with those of Dundalk, Newry and Carlingford, and Col. Conway with a party of the Northern old British, all making up about 700 horse and 1,200 foot, and two pieces of ordnance. Thither came from Trim, Major Cadogan and Captain Arthur Graham, in-

forming that the enemy had that morning burnt his camp about Trim, and retired to the old lurking-place called Portlester, a great and secure fastness, about five miles westward from Trim. The same day our army marched to the Hill of Tara, where they were drawn up, and mustered 1,500 horse, and about 5,000 foot. That night they quartered at the foot of the Hill of Tara, at a place called Dodestown, here Col. Jones called a council of war.

Aug. V.

Thursday, the 5.—The army marched to a place called Skurlockstown, within one mile of Trim, where they quartered that night.

Aug. VI.

Friday, the 6.—They marched through Trim, to a place called Trimblestown, wherein the enemy had a garrison, this place Col. Jones surrounded in view of the enemy, then encamping at Portlester, two miles off, thereby to draw him forth, if possibly it might be, to engage himself to fight.

Aug. VII.

Saturday, the 7.—A party of fifty horse of ours was commanded out for discovering of the enemy, and observing his motion; about ten o'clock that day the enemy was observed to move, and rising from Portlester to cross the country, and march towards Maynooth, a place within ten miles of Dublin, this confirmed the intelligence formerly given us, of the rebels intending to come betwixt us and home, and marching to Dublin for surprising of that place in absence of our forces engaged at the siege of Trimblestown. Whereupon Colonel Jones resolved to raise with the army and to follow the enemy, and had scarcely spoken word for drums to beat, but (by especial providence) at the same instant did the Castle beat a parley, offering to surrender, if permitted to march away with bag and baggage, and colours flying, which with advice of a council of war was assented unto. We receiving the place, and placing therein a garrison. That night our army marched back through Trim, and quartered at Skurlockstown aforesaid therein, in four hours marching as far as before they had done in a whole day. That night a convoy with some provisions came from Drogheda to the army. That night a commanded party of 500 horse was sent out from our army with orders to follow the enemy, and beat up his quarters

if enquartered, otherwise to follow him to Dublin if marching forward, the body of our army being to follow after with all possible expedition. This commanded party found the enemy quartered behind a very great bog, so as no approach could be made to him; whereof Colonel Jones being certified, he the next morning advanced towards the enemy with the whole army.

Aug. VIII.

The army marched through the strong fastness of Dennigan, belonging unto the Wesly, wherein was a garison of the enemies that shot at our men in their passing by the village we fired, but the Castle held out. That day about ten o'clock our army came to a place called Lynchesknock, within one mile whereof the enemy was drawn up on Dungan Hill, a place to him of all advantages, being on high ground, whereunto adjoyned a wood and a bog (their usual refuge in distress). The enemy also stood possessed of great ditches, within which he was as in so many strong works intrenched, hereunto may be added the advantages of wind and sun.

The enemy had lately before mustered 7,300 foot, and 1,040 horse, which number of horses appeareth by a muster roll after found in these words, viz.:—

Mustered the 5th of August, 1647.

The Lo. General's Troops	}	52	Cap. Plunket . . .	28
besides Officers			Cap. Harpoole . . .	38
Colonel FitzGerald . . .		49	Earl of Fingall . . .	41
The Major-Generall . . .		50	Lord of Trimbleston . . .	36
Lieutenant-Col. Finglas . . .		45	Earl of Westmeath . . .	41
Major Butler . . .		50	Cap. James Barnewell . . .	35
Captain Fitzgerald . . .		42	Cap. John Butler . . .	39
Colonell Cullin . . .		34	Sir Walter Butler . . .	40
Sir James Dillon . . .		36	Cap. Grase . . .	47
Captain Davies . . .		47	Cap. Edward Butler . . .	34
Major Dungan . . .		44	Cap. Walsh . . .	44
Captain John FitzPatrick . . .		35	Cap. Bagnall . . .	45
Colonell Preston . . .		35	Cap. Nugent . . .	44
Captain Aymer . . .		36		

This List of 26 Troops amounted to 1,047 horse; whereunto is to be added the Lord Costolough's party of about 300 horse, and two of the Nugents with two troops more, which came to the enemy the night before the battell.

Under the hill our army was drawn up; the enemies canon played hot at us, but with little losse other than two men and one horse.

About 12 of the clock the armies joined the battell, continuing about two hours ; our two wing of horse with some foot having broken both wings of the enemy, our main body advanced, and broke theirs ; whereupon about 3,000 of the rebells betaking themselves to the bog, they there threw up into a body. But Colonell Jones commanding the bog to be surrounded with horse and foot, our foot followed into the bog, where they put to the sword all not admitted to quarter ; such of the rebels as left the bog fell into the power of our horse.

Of the slain there were upon the place reckoned 5,470, besides those after gleaned up, which were very many. Of the enemy's foot there could not escape above 500, they being as they were invironed. Amongst those slain were 400 of Kilketto's new ; there were also put to the sword without mercy all formerly of our party, now found amongst the rebels, and all English, though never of our party.

The number of the prisoners (as appeareth in the annexed schedule) is, of Colonels five, whereof is the Lieutenant Generall of Leinster, and the Earle of Westmeath ; four Lieutenant Colonels, six Sergeant Majors, thirty-two Captains, twenty-three Lieutenants, twenty-seven Ensigns, two Cornets, twenty-two Sergeants, two Quartermasters, two Gunners, the Clerk of the Stores, thirteen Troopers, and 228 common Souldiers. Preston, their generall, hardly escaped with the horse. He left his carriages and cannon, being four Dem-Culverings, each carrying 12 pound bullet, and sixty-four fair oxen attending the train, which are to us of very great use, we being till now in that kind very short provided, there was also taken Preston's cabinet of papers, much valued in discoveries therein made. All their colours wee have, which Colonell Jones could not be perswaded to be brought into Dublin with triumph, as favouring (said he) of ostentation, and attributing unto man the glory of this great work due to the Lord alone.

Of ours were some wounded, but not twenty slain ; of note we left only two coronets, and one Captain Gibbs, who being overheated in the service, dyed in drinking ditchwater.

Heerein to give every hand in this glorious action the honour due, were more than any more lines could suffice unto ; in the generall, never did men carry themselves with more resolution and gallantry than did ours both officers

and souldiers, deserving much more encouragement than hitherto they have found, most of them having scarce meat to eat, or clothes to put on.

All done, Colonell Jones commanded throughout the army thanksgiving to be given to the Lord of Hosts, who did that day wonderfully for his people ; appointing Tuesday, the 17th of August, for a day of publick Thanksgiving in all the Churches of Dublin.

On the place where the battell was fought did the army that night quarter.

August IX.

Monday, August the ninth, colonell Jones called a council of war, and commanded colonell Fenwick, governour of Trim to place garrisons in Dennigan and Kilbrue.

That day the army marched to Maynooth, a strong castle belonging to the Earl of Kildare, which was summoned, and surrendered by the rebels, and by us garrisoned.

After this victory the enemy quit and burnt divers of their garrisons, viz., the Naas, Higginstown, Harristown, Collanstown, Castlewarding, and Moyglare, and much more had been gained of them, had there been pay and provisions for the armie, whereby the victory had been prosecuted ; but in the want of both they were enforced to take homewards unexpectedly.

August X.

Tuesday, the tenth, colonell Jones dismissed the northern forces that had joyned with him, engaging himself for their satisfaction as soon as treasure should come over.

He also dismissed to their several garrisons the forces of Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, and Carlingford, commanding Sir Henry Tichburne in his return to summon the Nobber and other places near Drogheda, possessed by the rebels ; promising, if occasion required, and that no provision could be made for the army, to advance with his strength to their assistance.

That day the rest of the army marched to Dublin, where wanting what might content our hungry and wearied souldiers, by the providence of God, as our army was ready to enter the citie, they were met with news of £1,500 brought by Captain Rich into the harbour, borrowed by Alderman Walley, therein much meriting of the publike. This small sum, though otherwise very inconsiderable, was

yet something in the present distresse, and is to be valued as an earnest of the Lord's care of his people, to whom he will in his good time appear in a full deliverance.

There was little considerable pillage gained from the enemy in this victory. That of best value was the artillery and oxen, which at last Colonell Jones purchased for the publicke use from those hands whereinto they fell, unto whom he standeth engaged for satisfaction. As for pillage of greater value, little was found, howsoever some have been pleased to speak of it largely and ridiculously; and if anything had been in that kind gained more than ordinary, it could not be imagined it should be of publick advantage, coming in (and that of due) into private hands.

This was the most signall victory with greatest loss to the rebels that ever was gained in Ireland since the first conquest thereof by the English. For which the Lord make us truly thankful.

MATT ROWE.

*A List of the Prisoners taken at the Battel of Dungan Hill,
August 8, 1647.*

COLONELS.

The Earl of Westmeath
Lieutenant-General Byrne
Colonel Warren
Colonel Browne
Colonel Butler

—
LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Lieutenant-Colonel Synnott
Lieutenant-Colonel Fitz-Gerald
Lieutenant-Colonel Cavanagh
Lieutenant-Colonel Cruise

—
SERGEANT MAJORS.

Major Taaffe
Major Lawler
Major Cusacke
Major Gaffegan
Major Synnott
Major Byrne

6

—
CAPTAINS.

Michael Byrne
Arthur Cavanagh
Darby Toole

CAPTAINS—(continued).

Martin Woolverstowne
Edward Tyrrel
Christopher Nugent
Edward Nugent
Baltasar Nugent
James Dempsey
William Tyrrel
Roger Darcy
James FitzGerald
Thomas Geoghegan
Charles Connor
Henry Warren
Patrick Netterville
Teige Connor
Thomas Plunket
Lawrence FitzPatrick
Thomas Gawly
Richard Nash
Dominick Shortalle
John Comerford
William Furlonge
Arthur Dillon
Lawrence Tuite
Robert Fenton, Captn. of Horse
Randel mac Alexander
Captain Geoghegan
Captain mac Donnel
Captain Taaffe
Captain Rochford

LIEUTENANTS.

Nicholas Tirrel
 James Casey
 Garret Floyd
 Edm. Bermingham
 Christopher Geoghegan
 Thomas Darcy
 Walter Mooney
 Donnogh Dempsey
 Leonard Shortayle
 Christopher Darcy
 Michael Gaynor
 Rosse Geoghegan
 Thomas Quyn
 Henry Dalton
 Henry Neale
 Bryan Kavanagh
 Robert Byrne
 Walter FitzHarris
 John Roch
 Theobald Toole
 Roger Dempsey
 James Barry, *alias* Gerald
 23

ENSIGNES.

James FitzSymons
 James Tirrel
 Teige Kelly
 Francis Foxe
 James mac O'Kyne
 Christopher Nugent
 Lawrence Dempsey
 Philip Cusacke
 George Warren
 Andrew Geoghegan
 Oliver Lynacke
 James Warren
 John Butler
 James FitzHarris
 Victor Whyte
 Jeffry FitzSymons
 Owen O'Heveran
 Edward FitzGerald
 Robert Fitzgerald
 Lawrence mac Donnel
 Phelim Natam
 Patrick Cahore
 Anthony O'Bryan
 Donnel Cowran
 Tirlagh mac Nulty
 Enos mac Alexander
 Nicholas Quayhell
 27

CORNETS.

Richard Corbet
 James Fitzgerald
 2

QUARTERMASTERS.

James Walsh
 Richard Jones

GUNNERS.

Michael Walsh
 Philip Stafford
 2

CLERK OF THE STORE.

John Hadger
 1

SERGEANTS.

Donogh Mynam
 John O'Meaghan
 Mayle Murry Kavanagh
 Pierce Synnot
 Teige Gaffney
 James Purcell
 Patrick Rowland
 Calure Kavanagh
 Morogh Kavanagh
 Garret Toole
 Neill O'Rourke
 Neale O'Dalane
 John Darcey
 Patrick Farrily
 Thomas Corgan
 Richard Murphy
 Garrot Tirrel
 Mamis O'Leadan
 William O'Moran
 Owen mac Caffery
 John mac Scallix
 Dndley Byrne
 22

TROOPERS.

13

COMMON SOULDIERE.

223

THE JUDGMENT AGAINST SIR PHELYM O'NEILL:
5th March, 1652.

MS. 4. 16 TRIN. COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

5to MARTIJ, 1652—THE JUDGEM^t. AGAINST SR.
PHELYM O'NEALE.

Sr Phelym O'Neale

The Attorney Generall in y^e name and on y^e beehalffe of y^e comonwealth of England Haith preferred against you in this High Court of Justice, severall charges of high treason.

I. Generall.

For y^e contrivinge, plotting, advysing, counselling, promotinge and actinge y^e late horrid, unnatural, and barbarous and cruell Rebellion, and y^e execrable murders and massacres, done and comitted in Ireland: which Rebellion began in y^e year 1641. And for y^e ayding, assisting promotinge and actinge y^e said Rebellion, murthers, and massacres.

A Treason so abominably wicked and detestable, so horrid and execrable, as no age, memory or history of y^e whole worlde can parrellell for villany or for merciles effusion of y^e innocent blood of y^e saints or for inhuman cruelties.

Pleaded
Non Culp.

This Highe Court of Justice haith taken in[to] their serious consideration y^e evidence and upon debate they finde you guilty. Robert Maxwell, breifely summe up some materiall parts of y^e evidence upon serious consideration whereof y^e Court haith found you guilty.

For the generall charge.

foole

Testified out of youre owne mouth, you were hea[r]d to say that y^e plott was 5 or 6 yeares in your head before you could bring it to maturity.

Y^t to bring about youre owne ends, you had demeaned yourselfe as a ffoole in some greate man's company y^t he might not be suspected after.

But not to bee suspected or discovered you entered into y^e Rebellion and had discovered youre selfe: y^e greatest of them sawe y^t Sr Phelym O'Neale was no such foole as they tooke him for.

Yet now at last you have proved youre selfe a

foole. The wicked man is y^e greatest foole in y^e worlde.

Thou foole this night shall they take away thy [life]. Stulte hac nocte

Habemus confitentem reum. Confesse in your examination: y^t beefore y^e breaking out of this Rebellion, y^e plott was communicated betweene you and y^e Lord Maguire and Rory O'Moore and Phillipe O'Reely, y^t you meet with them severall tymes in Dublyn and discoursed of y^e plot.

Y^t at some of those meetings Colonell John Barry, Sr James Dillon, Anthony Preston, and Hugh MacPheleme Birne were present.

Y^t you tooke an oathe of secrecy.

Y^t at those meetings, it was agreed y^t y^e Castle of Dublyn and y^e severall fforts in Ireland should bee taken, and that you should take y^e fforte of Charlemount.

It appeares also by y^e sequell with how much treachery and cruelty you performed y^t part.

Y^t you were invited by y^e Lord of Gormans-
ton, and some other lords and gentlemen of y^e Pale to y^e seidge of Drogheda and y^t upon y^t invitation you came thither with your forces. Invited to
ye seidge of
Drogheda.

Y^t at Bewley you received a comission from y^e Lords and Gentlemen of y^e Pale to bee Comander in Cheefe of all y^e fforces at y^e said seidge (o^o postea). Titles

Y^t at Monaghan you were chosen Comander in Chiefe of Ulster by Ph. O'Rely, McMahown, Maguire, y^e Magennyses, and other septs of y^e Irish, and received a commission from them to y^t purpose. Commander
in Chiefe
siedge of
Ulster.
Commander
in Chief of
Ulster.
Presidt. of
Ulster.

Y^t by order of y^e Supreame Councell of y^e Rebells at Killkenny you were made Presidt of Ulster.

Tis testified y^t at y^e hill of Tulloughoge you were chosen Earle of Tyrone, and thereupon assumed y^t style and tytle which you subscribed to your letters (Tyrone). Michaell
Harrisonn.
Earle of
Tyrone

Y^t beeing swelled bigg with these high tytles you chaunged your style, and was called his Excellency, Lord Generall of y^e Catholicke army, your meale served up with drum and trumpet. Hogen
Megen.
Capt.
Perkins.

You wrot in a Royal style—Wee will and command.

Nic. Simpson According to our Royall Intentions

You granted Commissions of Oyer and Terminer, power of life and death, and to some of your Vassailes, you granted Jura Regalia within their owne territories.

Sr Phelim [appoints] magistrates in Corporations and place[s] officers of his owne.*

Capt. Jo.
Parkina.

To consummate all this granduer your eceived by y^e hand of ffather Paule O'Neale (y^t postilian ffryer or popish Prest, who went 13 times for you to Brussells in halfe a yeare) a Bull from y^e Pope, whereby you were created Prince of Ulster, which creation was performed at y^e Hyll of Tullaughoge † with all y^e Barbarous Irish ceremonies aunciently beeloning to y^e greate O'Neale. Healths drunk upon y^e knee to Sr Phelim O'Neale Lord Generall of y^e Catholicke army in Ulster, Earle of Tyrone and King of Ireland: and those that should not call him soe should loose their heades. Beeing thus invested in this power, you proceed to act in Treachery, Tyranny, Blood and execrable Cruelty.

Phelimy
Totan.

Omitt here to speake of Charlemount, and y^e murder of y^e Lord Cawfield, Because y^t is a special charge.

Dungannon.
Capt. Jo.
Parkins.

22 Oct. 1641, at six o'clock at night you surprize by Trechery y^e Castle of Dungannon and Capt. John Parkins.

Pat Moder
O'Donnelly

Desyer a warrant to search for a sheep pretend-[ed] to bee stollen from Pat Modder O'Donnelly.

Whilst Capt. Perkins was about to write y^e warr^t. one of y^e conspirators opens y^e gate, lets in 18 more of their fellowes, rush in upon hym, sett skeanes to his brest, arrest hym in y^e name of y^e Parliamt., make a prysoner [of him] possesse themselves of his armes and of all y^e goods in y^e House and tell hym y Sr Phelim O'Neale would bee there beefore midnight.

* This paragraph is in such crabbed hand that it is difficult to make sense of it, but it is not what Mr. Gilbert has written.

† Tullaughogue is once more the property of O'Hagan, the ex-Lord Chancellor having purchased it.

About midnight Sr Pheelym [came] and reioy-
cing at ye successe of ye villany, smiling said to
Capt. Parkins, Ha, you old ffoxe have I caught
you: I am gladder to have you than my Lord
Cawfield, whom I have left safe enough at
Charlemount. This night all Ireland is oure
owne, and all ye Townes and forts are ours.

Capt. Perkins [said] Wee shall have a second
O'Dougherty of you: who lost his head a yeare
after ye burning of ye Derry and killing of ye
Governour, at which speech your Excellency was
angry.

Then you commanded your men to goe to Capt.
Perkins stable and to saddle his horses, and then
you and your company rode and went yt night Mountioly.
and surprized the Castle of Mountioly. Returne
to Dungannon.

Can ye Lords of ye Pale so degenerate, etc. ? ♣ Antea

Yes Sr Phelym O'Neale said it.

That if ye Lords and Gentlemen of ye Pale
and ye other Provinces, would not ryse with
them, he would produce his warrant signed with
their hands and written with their owne blood,
yt should bringe them to ye gallowes.

General Massacres and Plunders, Burnings.

Dr. Robert
Maxwell.
Capt.
Perkins.

Upon S Pheelims returne to Dungannon from
ye surprise of Mountioly, Sr Phelym and his
company plundered and kild 60 ffamilies in and
neere ye Towne, and after killed and plundered,
burnt and spoyled all about ye country contrary Dungannon
to his owne quarter and protections given.

Burnt ye Londoners plantations, and burnt
and spoyled all in their way between Dungannon
and Strabane whence he fetcht his Lady. Perkins:
Londoners
Plantations

They murdered 954 in a morning in ye county
of Antrim and after yt 1200 in yt county.

1000 in ye County of Downe.

300 neere Kill-lough and many hundreds bee-
fore and after yt in boath countyes.

By ye accompt of their owne Priestes there Dr. Robert
Maxwell.
were murthered betweene ye breakinge out of
ye Rebellion, viz. ye 23 of Oct. 1641 and March
then next followinge one hundred fivety four
thousand. Dr. Robert Maxwell.

When y^e Scottish army marched backe from y^e Newry to Carrigfergus, the Irish massacred above 5000 in 3 dayes. Murder of y^e Brittish knowen generally to bee soe acceptable to Sr Phelim that Art Oge O'Neile having but one Scottishman upon his lands caused him to bee murthered of purpose to give Sr Phelym a prooffe of zeale and to gett into his favour and good opinion.

Dr. Robt. Maxwell.

Many Protestants buried alive otherwayes they would not bury them (Robert Maxwell). But soe abuse their dead bodies in such shamefull manner as cannot with modesty bee related.

Sr Pheelym confessed y^t he had killed 600 Englishe at Garvah in y^e County of Derry and y^t he had left neither man woman nor child alive in y^e Barony of Mounterlony in y^e County of Teerone; nor in y^e severall plantations of Sr Archib. Acheson, John Hammilton, y^e Lord Cawfield, and y^e Lord Mountnorris, between Armagh and y^e Newry. Robert Maxwell.

That of these there was above 200 murdered in their owne houses, y^e dead bodies in y^e houses unburied.

ARMAGHE.

The Englishe had gotten into y^e Cathedrall Church of Ardmagh, and fortified themselves there.

Sr Phelym comes thither with his fforces and seeing he could not force y^e place he falls to Treaty, promises quarter for their lives, goodes, estates, y^t if they would give y^e place and their armes to hym, they should live there as beefore. He would protect them from all wronges and injury.

This quarter he confirmed by many great oathe and said y^t he would sign it with his blood, and give his sonne Henry for a pledge.

After beeing beaten from y^e siedege of Tredagh [Drogheda] and chased out of Dundalke he comes to Armagh. He commands one of his bloodhounds viz. Manus O'Cahan to carry away y^e Protestants and to conduct and convoy them to

Lysander.
Children
with rattles
and men
with oathes
Lysander.
Nulla fides
cum here-
ticis.
Capt. Per-
kins.

Colraine where by the way to y^e number of 300 of them were murdered.

Two things became so frequent y^t they were generally observed by y^e Protestants.

(1). Whensoever he sent y^e Protestants away to bee conducted away to any place by a saffe convoie, whatsoever publicke and open shoves were made of safety and security the secret meaning and true intention was to murder entent

and massacre them and soe to make saffe and sure y^t they should do no harm.

(2). Whensoever y^e Irishe received any losse by y^e Englishe, or y^t y^e English fforges marched towards y^e Irishe, then there was a generall murder and massacre of y^e Englishe, least they should give intelligence or strenthen y^e Englishe fforges.

Captain
Perkins.
Armagh.

The Cathedrall Church of Armagh and y^e whole Towne burned and greate numbers of people burned therein, the rest gathered together to bee convoyed to Colrane and Sr Phelim gives directions at Charlemount to murder them by y^e [way] and soe of them were murdered and drowned to y^e number of 500 younge and old.

This contrary to his quarter given upon oathe y^t he would signe with his bloude.

And this was uppon y^e approche of y^e English fforges to y^e Newry.

In y^e parish of Killaman neere Charlemount murdered by Shane O'Neale who Sr Phelym had made Capt of y^e Castle of Charlemount, 48 families.

Parish of
Killaman.
Shane
O'Neale, one
of Sr. Phelym[s] Best
to Truste.

The 2 murderous Septs of y^e O'Hughes and y^e M'Quaides and y^t murderer Manus O'Cain, still employed by Sr Phelym and his brother Tur-lagh.

Upon their loss of men and repulse at y^e Agher they murder all y^e English and Brittitish they meet in y^e way.

Upon their losse at Castle Derge, in revenge they kill all they could upp and downe y^e country.

Warrants given under S^r Pheelim's owne hand for some of these massacres.

LISSNEGARVY.

When Sr Pheelym was beaten from Lissnegarvy some of his Kerns forced about 24 Brittiſhe into a houſe and there burned them alive whoſe terrible outcries y^e villaines delighted much to imitate and expreſſe unto others. And Sr Phelim hymſelf ridd ſoe neere y^e place, y^t he would not chuſe but heare y^e outcries, yet paſt by without queſtioning y^e villaynes.

The like and uſuall in other places, forcing into houſes and then ffying y^e houſes, and ſetting armed men about them to murder thoſe y^t venture out.

PARISH DE LOUGHGALL.

4000 Communicants murdered or baniſhed or diſtroyed.

DROWNING AT PORTADOWNE.

20.	30.	100.	150.
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VISIONS AT PORTADOWNE.

Revenge.	Revenge.
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PARTICULAR REVENGE.

Cowell murdered becauſe he would not marry his kinſwoman.

Doctor Hodges, becauſe hee could not make gunpowder.

Dr. Maxwell

PARTICULAR CRUELITIES.

Watson.

The roaſting of Mr. Watson alive.

Starkey.

Mr. Starkey, ſchoolmaſter at Armagh, a gentleman of good parentage and parts, beeing upwards of 100 years of age, they ſtrip naked, and likewise ſtrip naked 2 of his daughters, virgins, to leade and ſupport y^e old man one under each arme, not beeing able to goe of himſelfe, and in y^t poſture carried them all 3 quarters of a mile to a turfe pitt, and there drowned them.

Many of the Proteſtants the Rebells would not kill outright, but beeing halfe deade would ſoe leave them, y^t they might have the greater

payne, and after come and looke upon them, and deny to kill them outright, though entreated.

A young man having his backe broken they removed to another field to feed upon ye grass. Backe broken.

They desyred to murder ye soule with ye body, Thy soule to Go-when they killed they said: Thy soule to the the Devill Devill.

THE CRUELTY OF YE CHILDREN OF YE
REBELLS.

Children.

An Mater magis crudelis.

Set upon a Joynte-Stoole.

McMahowne and ye other Rebell^s, after a Dr Robert greate feast held at Monaghan, began to drinke healths, and for a pastime they tyed an Englishman or a Welshman upon ye table, and at every health they gave hym a gash or wound, but not mortall, soe as his whole body was all over gashed and wounded, and then they flung hym out upon a dunghill, where he died. partly of his wounds partly of ffamine, none daring to relieve.

MALICE TO YE ENGLISH NATION.

Dogs.

Dogs Meate.

Heretikes.

Not worthy of buriall, unlesse to bee buried quicke.

When they murder them; they give their soules to ye Devill.

Shamelessly abuse their deed (*sic*) corps.

Destroy their cattell. Cruelty to ye beasts.

Burne and demolishe their habitations.

Roote out ye seed and memory of ye English out of ye land.

Don O'Neale cursed his posterity if they should learne English, sowe corne, or live after ye English manner.

Shane O'Neale reiected ye English lawes and government.

Built a ffort in Tyrone and called it Ffeehuegall.*

Ffaces turned downeward to ye Entent they

* Hatred to the foreigner, i.e., the English.

might have no other prospect or sight but only into Hell.

Proclamations made that none should relieve y^e Englishe.

Gathered together by beate of Drum to be convoyed, y^t is to say, to be murdered; which was so notorious y^t y^e English gave moneyes not to goe in y^e convoyes.

HATRED TO THEIR RELIGION.

Murder their ministers, contrary to quarter and protection given.

Robert Blith held up Phelym's protection to Heaven, and exclaimed against your breach of faith.

Abuse and tread under foote y^e Byble and Holy Scriptures.

Damned
Puritans.

Call them damned Puritans.

Burnt y^e Church of Armagh.

Shane O'Neale defaced and ruined the metropolitan Church of Armagh.—Stat. 11 Eliz., p. 312.

SCORNE AND CONTEMPT OF Y^E JUST^R AND HONORABLE LAW OF ENGLAND.

Mr. Sympson where is now your Statt.[ute] Staple, and your Dedimus protestatem?

And at the Barre, he was up with his Jo.-a-Noake* and J. S., He was swolne so big, soe high above all law, that he would give account to none of his actions.

These are y^e actions y^t exalt hym to his last and greatest tytle, viz., Phelimy Tolan, smoking, burning, flaymmyng Phelym.

This is y^e ffyre and smoke y^t ascend out of y^e bottomless pitt.

This is y^e seed of y^e old serpent and of y^t great Anti-Christ y^t delights in y^e torture and blood of y^e Saints and y^e persecution of y^e Church.

TO WHAT END.

Sapiens incipit a fine,

To mayntayne y^e King's prærogative.

John-a-Noakes and John Styles were fictitious names, used in actions of ejectment, like John Doe and Richard Roe.

To advance thee Catholich cause.
 To banish all damned Puritans.
 Anti-Christ delights in y^e blood of y^e Saints.

BY WHAT AUTHORITY.

THE KING'S COMMISSION.

The copy of a Comission gotten amonge y^e Rebellis. How he denies it, and saith it was a fraud to deceive y^e people, and drawe on his party, ffor hee knewe well y^e Commission of y^e Lords of y^e Pale, y^e Election of y^e Northern Rebellis, y^e Order of their Supream Councell. Vere Vanities.

[A.B.—A leaf has been torn out of the Manuscript here.]

But he sayes these are generalls. And yet it appeares by y^e evidence y^t much of this was done by his direction, and trusty assassins of hymselfe, his brother Turlaghe, brethren in evil, and all by his power.

Mr. Attorney Herich* selected 4 particulars of infamous, barbarous, cruell mur[ders] by his own speciall command, direction, or warrant under his hand:

1. Lieutenant James Maxwell and Grizell his wyffe.

2. The hanging of Richard Blany by Sr P. his warrant under his hand, procured at y^e instance of Art McBrian Suunagh, y^e murderer, who since dyed madd.

3. Themurder[er] of Brownloe Taylor, protected by hym, and after brought unto hym, and from [hym] sent to execution.

Captain Parkins begged for him to Sr Phelym but prevayled not.

4. The Lord Cawfield.

Special Providence, brought in by y^e Lo. Cawfield.

* [This is a very difficult text, and my reading of the surname "Herich," is scarcely more than a guess. According to Beatson (Political Index,) Wm Basil was the Attorney-General of that period.]

And now it appeares, yt y^e measure of his iniquity is full, pressed downe and running over. And yt he is ripe for judgment, and therefore heare your sentence.*

[N.B.—Five leaves have been torn out here, so that the "Sentence" referred to above is unfortunately lost.]

T. FRENCH.

* He was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

MOLTO RENDO. SIGNORE.

Ricevuta la lettera di V.S.M.R., mi diedi premura di secondare il desiderio che in essa mi esprimeva d'avere una fotografia del mio illustre antecessare in questa Sede Arcivescovile Mons. Rinuccini. Però non ho potuto averla colla bramata sollecitudine né con più distinta riproduzione, essendosi tratta dall' unica tela rinvenuta da poco tempo in questa città e in assai trista condizione. D'autografi non si conservano in questa Cancelleria Arcivescovile che semplici firme, e una di queste ho fatto ritrarre nel miglior modo possibile appié dell' immagine fotografata.

Comunque Ella vorrà gradirle insieme coll'augurio che il suo lavoro torni di vera utilità a codesto cattolico paese, come di lustro al nome di quel venerando Prelato che vi operò tanto bene.

E il Signore la prosperi sempre

Di Lei, M. R. Signore,

Fermo, 30 Luglio, 1881.

Servo in Christo,

✠ AMILCARE,

Arcivescovo di Fermo

D. CARLO PATRIZIO MEEHAN,

Dublin.

(FROM THE RINUCCINI MSS.)

EUGENII O'NELLI, COPIARUM ULTONIENSIIUM PRAEFECTI
GENERALIS, EPITAPHIUM.

Hic jacet ille ingens patriae defensor O'Nellus,
Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, Marte, fide.
¶ Qui genus et magni mensuram stemmatis implens,
Per suos Catholicos arma probavit avos.
Quem neque vis dubii potuit perfringere belli,
Nec mutare boni speve, timorve mali.
Quem tria conjuncto petierunt agmine regna,
In caput unius tot coiere manus.
Celsus in immota mentis sed constitit arce,
Et captum infracto pectore duxit iter,
Spem contra humanam, coelum tamer adfuit ausis,
Cumque suo Christus milite miles erat.
Impia Catholicum seu strinxit in agmina ferrum,
Discolor haeretica caede madebat humus.
Sive fugam simulat, simulando comprimit hostem,
Nec minus arma viri quam metuenda fuga.
Hoc tamen, hoc ingens, et inexpugnabile Marti
Pectus humi positum spicula mortis habent.
Armula nam crebris Parca invidiosa triumphis
Vincendi et vitae sit tibi finis, ait.
Fata sed Eugenium nequeunt ita sternere, servant
Posthuma Romanam quominus arma fidem.
Hanc lapis et cineres, sed et ipsa cadavera spirant
Et Petrum litui, tela tubaeque sonant.
Magna viri merces, tot palmas astra coronant,
Sic praestant meritum, terra polusque decus.

EPITAPH ON OWEN ROE O'NEILL.

Here rests that high-born Chief, the great O'Neill,
His country's firm defender and its shield ;
His valour proved on many a famous field,
His faith attested by his burning zeal.

No blot upon the scutcheon of his race,
No stain upon the brightness of their name
Were left by him ; ah, no, but added fame
Shone upon them from him whose name we trace.

No doubtful issue ever stopped his way,
Nor even the hope of some unrighteous gain,
Nor dread of ill invisible, though plain,
From the right path could tempt his steps to stray.

Three mighty kingdoms sought his overthrow,
Three mighty powers 'gainst one would work their will,
But he upon whose head, as on a hill,
Virtue her glorious citadel would show,

With heart undaunted struggled to the end,
And 'gainst all human hope or human fear
Heaven came to aid him in his great career,
With Christ his fellow soldier and his friend.

Whether his sword he drew in filial fight
Against his Faith and Fathers' impious foe,
Or in retreat a dexterous skill would show,
Alike they feared him in the field and flight.

But now Death's shafts with their resistless doom
Have laid this mighty warrior in the dust ;
And the stern Fates that spurn not even the just
Proclaim his victories o'er ; his end hath come.

But not his fame : the Fates themselves in vain
Assail the mighty memory we record ;
For future generations, with the sword,
Remembering Owen, will the Faith maintain.

This stone, these ashes will with ardour fill
The hearts of those who then their Faith defend,
When clanging arms and martial notes will blend
With Peter's clarion sounding from the Hill.

Great is the merit of the man now crowned
With deathless glory 'mid the stars of heaven ;
Let the due honour to his name be given,
And Fame his worth proclaim the whole world round.

THE FAMILY OF ROTHE.

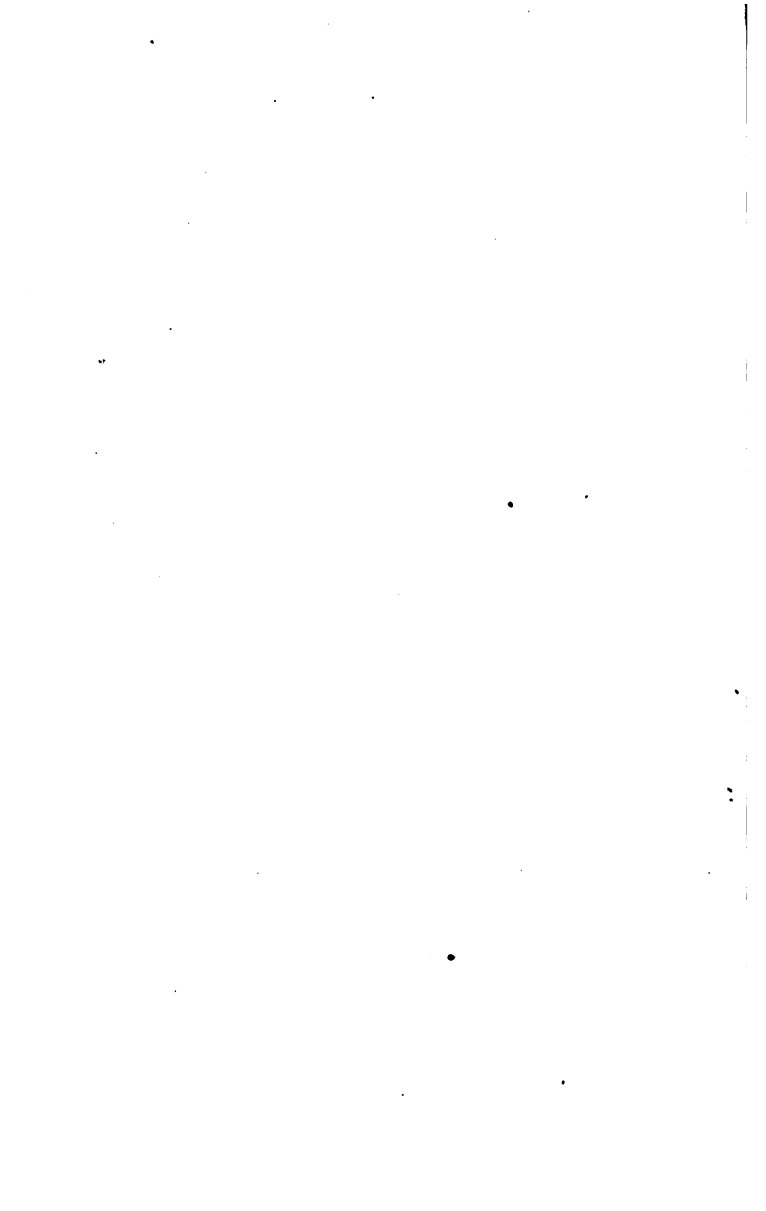
BY REV. JOHN SHEARMAN, C.C., AUTHOR OF "LOCA
PATRICIANA."

THE family from which the Bishop of Ossory, David Rothe, is derived, was at an early period connected with Kilkenny and its vicinity, but whence its founder came to settle there, or at what time cannot now be determined. The Rothés are most likely of Flemish descent from South Wales, the name crops up in other parts of Ireland about the time they are noticed in Kilkenny. In Cork, in 1382, Adam Fitz-Philip Rothe of that city, led a hosting against some of the Irishry of Muuster, and in 1389, a William Rothe was Mayor of Drogheda.

In the year 1372, the Liber Primus, a MS. belonging to the Corporation of Kilkenny, records that John Rothe farmed the murage of that town for two years at the rent of nine marks of silver. In 1403, Thomas Rothe was sovereign of Kilkenny, and in 1440, 1449, and 1465, John Rothe, probably grandson of John Rothe of 1372, held the same office. At the end of the 15th century, Jenkyn, or "little John" Rothe resided in Callan, later on, other members of the family resided at Sheepestown, Kilcreene, Jenskynston, and other localities in the county of Kilkenny. The great Stonehouse in Coal market or Parliament street, Kilkenny, was erected by John Rothe, and his wife Rose Archer, Fitzpeirs, Fitz-John Rothe, in 1594. It survives as a monument of the munificence and opulence of the Kilkenny merchants of the period. At this time were living in Kilkenny, Edward Rothe, d. 1622, Robert Rothe, d. *circa* 1619, and David Rothe, an attorney, in 1635, and Richard Rothe, alderman, A.D. 1637. These were, perhaps, brothers, or cousins german of John Fitzpeirs the merchant. Edward, who died 1622, was probably father of Edward Rothe, alderman of the city, and one of the signers of the articles of surrender of the same to Cromwell, who besieged the city, and entered through a breach in the wall, March, 27th, 1650. David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, brother to this Edward, was born A.D. 1572, in High street Kilkenny, in the house on the north side of the Tholsel, between it and the Butter slip. He was elected Bishop of Ossory in October, 1618. The day after the

surrender of the city, this aged bishop made his escape, but was arrested and robbed. He was allowed by the Protector to return, and went to his brother's house, where he lingered until the 20th day of April, and breathed his last sigh under the parental roof, and was buried by torch-light in his aucestral tomb in the north-west corner of the north transept of St. Mary's Church, where the Rothe monument is still extant. The grave of the bishop was opened by the late R. Cane, M.D., but it appeared to have been disturbed before, as there was nothing there found to identify the remains of the bishop. A few years ago, when the church was undergoing repairs, a like attempt was made with the same result. The old frame house with its quaint gabled front, with an oriel window, over a pent-house shop front, was occupied up to the first decade of this century, by the descendants of Edward Rothe. They went to America, as Mr. Comerford, an old and respected inhabitant (representative of the Comerfords of Ballyburr, who entertained the Nunzio on his way to Kilkenny) informed the late John G. A. Prim, a diligent and enthusiastic investigator of the antiquities of his native city. The old house was pulled down, and the brick house between the Tholsel and Mr. Wall's house (Alderman Langston's house erected 1609), was then erected. Fortunately, a sketch of the Market Cross of Kilkenny, taken before 1771 for the late Mr. Robertson, Architect, shows Rothe's house in the back ground. The name of Rothe has been extinct in Kilkenny for the last 30 or 40 years. The late Edward Rothe, Esq., Governor of Grangegorman Prison Dublin, was a native of Kilkenny, and a scion of the old Stock. George Rothe, of Salisbury, Co. Kilkenny, a Protestant gentleman of property, and a prominent actor in the Kilkenny private theatricals, was of the same family; being appointed to a lucrative situation in the Excise at a salary of £1,200 per annum, he died in Dublin many years ago. The wife of the late John Banim, (of "the O'Hara family,") was a Miss Rothe from the county of Kilkenny, where a few of the name are still to be found. Mrs. Colonel Whyte, of Killakee, county of Dublin, lately deceased, was of the Rothe family of Mount Rothe, or Salisbury. Her brother Col. Lorenzo still survives to represent this historic name.

THE END.



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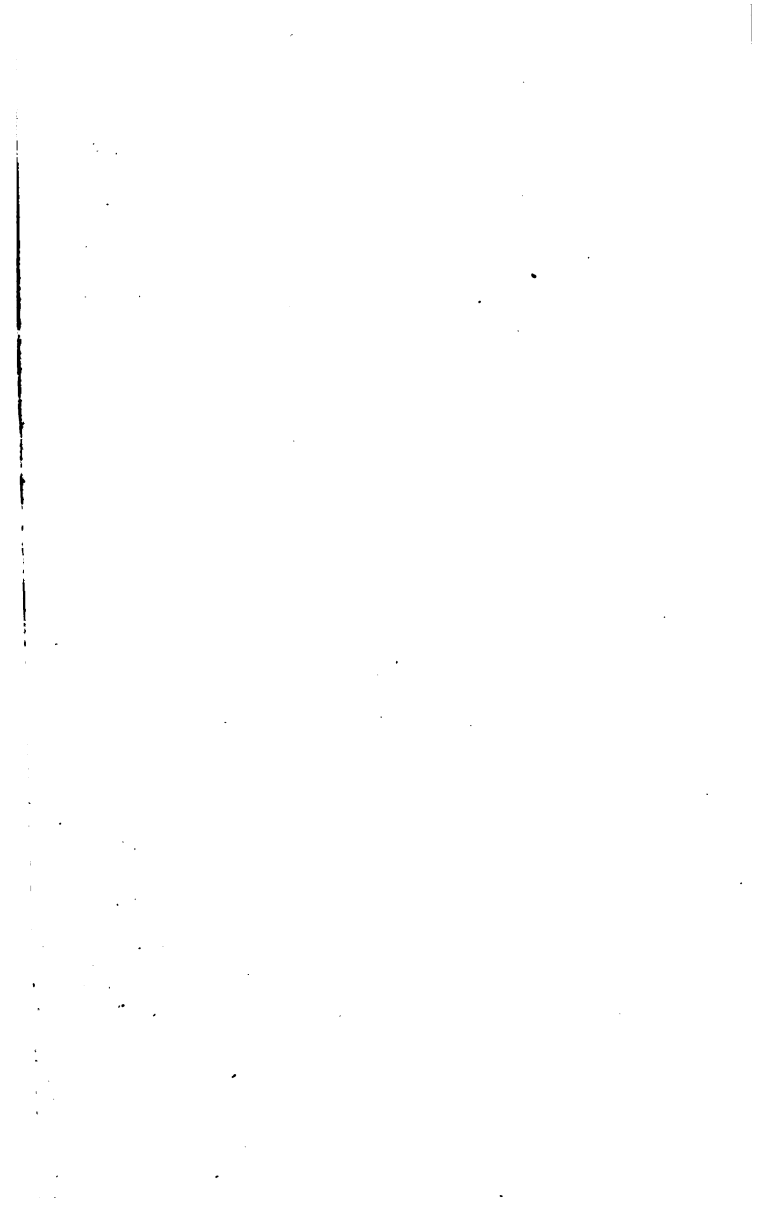
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EPITAPH FOR MACCOLL (ALEXANDER MACDONNELL)

Referred to at p. 236, omitted in Appendix.

Stout Machabee, from whom the double tye
 Of zeal, and of unbounded loyaltie.
 Too early for us, in too black a day,
 Inforc'd the tribut which we all must pay :
 While thy sterne countenance and strong arme press'd
 The fates, but for a single interest ;
 Like lightning, captiv'd fortune shott her smiles,
 To wait on thee through Scotland and her isles ;
 But when God added his, his cause and call
 Brought further merit to MacDonell's fall.
 And here he ends, thus these two Kingdoms mourne,
 That share the honour of his birth and borne.
 Great pedigre of valour, sent to engage
 Man to believe that in some former age
 There have been heroes to these threadde of thee,
 Not clothed as yet in immortalitie.
 I here do sacrifice these humble teares,
 The emblem of the black my sad heart wears.

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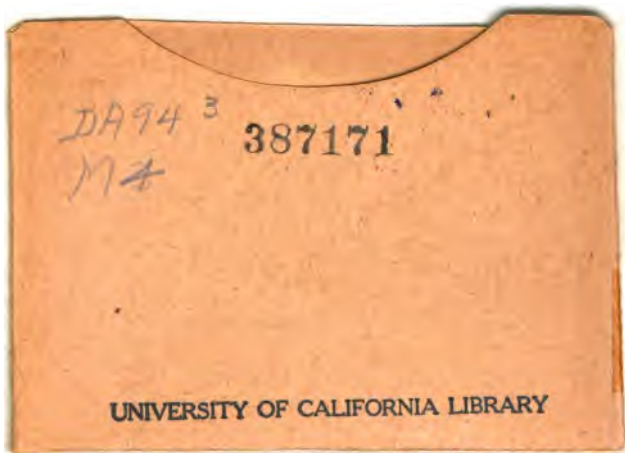
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